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VOL. XXXIV NO. 3

APRIL, 1929

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THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

PRINCE AND LEMON STREETS, LANCASTER, PA.

60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

LONDON: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

Entered at the post office, Lancaster, Pa., as second-class mail matter

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Correspondence in regard to contributions to the REVIEW may be sent to the Managing Editor, Dana C. Munro, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., or to the Board of Editors. Books for review may be sent to the Managing Editor. Subscriptions should be sent to the Macmillan Company, Prince and Lemon Sts., Lancaster, Pa., or 60 Fifth Ave., New York. The price of subscription, to persons who are not members of the American Historical Association, is five dollars a year; single numbers are sold for \$1.50 (back numbers at the same rate); bound volumes may be obtained for \$7.50.

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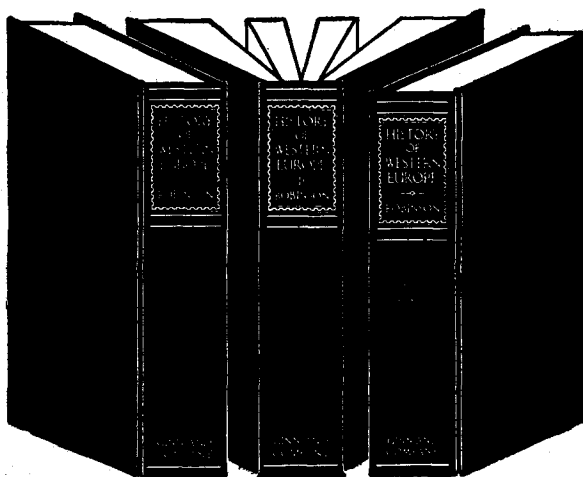
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The
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THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION AT INDIANAPOLIS

AFTER an interval of eighteen years the Association met for the second time at Indianapolis, on December 28 to 31, 1928. In 1910 "the number of members registered was unusually large, 290"; in 1928 almost twice as many—541—attended. At the former meeting three allied societies met with us; at the latter six other societies met concurrently, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Conference of Historical Societies, Agricultural History Society, American Catholic Historical Association, American Oriental Society—Middle West Branch, and the Bibliographical Society of America. On each occasion the generous hospitality of the citizens added greatly to the success of the meeting. At the latter the delightful reception and excellent musicale at the John Herron Art Institute was especially appreciated. The smoker at the Columbia Club, where Mr. Meredith Nicholson spoke interestingly on the history of Indianapolis, gave an opportunity to meet some of the citizens, as did the Tea at the Propylaeum. Four of the clubs were generous in opening their doors to the members. The meeting was very successful, and the credit of this is due primarily to the Committee on Local Arrangements, of which Mr. J. W. Fesler was chairman and E. A. Rice was secretary, and to the Committee on the Programme, with its capable chairman, Dr. Coleman.

The number of sessions for the presentation of papers increased over eighteen years ago by more than two-thirds and the number of papers read by about one-half. There was relatively less attention to diplomatic history than has been the case in recent years and more papers on social and economic topics. Special features were the recognition given to prehistory, Oriental history, and the sessions devoted to the American Revolution. An innovation at the first Indianapolis meeting, when for all the papers presented at the session for Ancient history outlines were distributed in advance, was followed this year for two sessions. In one on the history of the South the

discussion centred on the paper by Professor Phillips, printed in the October number of this *Review*; in the session on the Manor the discussion was on Professor Neilson's paper, for which outlines had been distributed. The general opinion seemed to be that such discussions were especially worth while. Of a similar nature was the meeting at which Professor F. M. Anderson presented a paper entitled, "Who Wrote the 'Diary of a Public Man', Amos Kendall, Henry Wikoff, or X?", and a discussion was participated in by Professor Ramsdell of Texas, Professor Kull of Rutgers, and Professor Randall of Illinois, all of whom had previously studied the question and formed an opinion.

At the meeting in 1910 the Association petitioned Congress to take "such steps as may be necessary to erect in the City of Washington a National Archive depository". At the 1928 meeting the Association listened to a report from Mr. L. A. Simon, the architect, on the Archive Building for which Congress had appropriated the money. There has been some delay. Whether the petition was at all effective may be questioned, but certainly there can be no question of the part played by Dr. Jameson, chairman of our Archives Committee, in the development and consummation of the plans which will, it is believed, result in an Archive Building of which we shall all be proud. At each of the meetings a paper on the Dred Scott Decision was presented, in 1910 by Professor Corwin of Princeton, in 1928 by Professor Hodder of Kansas. It is interesting also to compare the financial status of the Association at the two periods. In 1910 we were proud when the Treasurer reported total assets of \$22,585; in 1928 the total assets were \$194,900, and the contributions from the state of Indiana, paid or pledged, four times the total of eighteen years before. A marked change in the later meeting was in the number of luncheons (8) and dinners (4) accompanied by a discussion of professional topics. At the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association Professor Oliver, of the University of Pittsburgh, gave an historical introduction to the Extravaganza "Heaven on Earth or the New Lights of Harmony" by Peter Puffem (1925), and Mrs. Carl H. Lieber read the Extravaganza, a satire on New Harmony, of which a copy, possibly unique, was recently discovered in a second-hand book-store. At a dinner on Saturday evening over which President Breasted presided, Professor Fox of Columbia gave an address, replete with interest and humor, on the Disposal of Refuse Ideas.

In connection with this summary of the meeting it has been decided to include the report of the Secretary, and the memorial of our late beloved Secretary, John Spencer Bassett; consequently the space

available for the summary of papers is restricted and justice can not be done to the scores of papers which were read and to the discussions which followed.

The meeting gave ample evidence that historians are feeling their responsibility and possibly are becoming more practical. Coöperation and coördination of effort were frequently stressed, notably in the presidential address, "The New Crusade", with its statement of the organization and plans of the Oriental Institute. Before delivering his address President Breasted announced that the Justin Winsor Prize for 1928 had been awarded to Professor Fred Albert Shannon for his book, *Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865*.

At the meeting devoted to the Public Archives Mr. Godard epitomized the legislation in 1928. Virginia has passed an act which provides for assembling in the State Library at Richmond photostat copies of all the early records throughout the commonwealth. Miss Nute of the Minnesota Historical Society in Some Conclusions from a Resurvey of the Minnesota Archives indicated the improvements made possible by the advance of archival knowledge and economy. There was a general discussion followed by a vote endorsing House bill HR5626 for printing the United States censuses, 1800 to 1840, and by a motion approving the bill before Congress for the printing of the Territorial Papers.

At the luncheon conference on the Library of Congress Dr. Tyler Dennett presided, and, in introducing Dr. Jameson, said that historical writers are too prone to go abroad for vacation studies and researches. Too few of them realize how worth their while it is to come to Washington, and explore the treasures of historical material which are to be found in the several governmental repositories. Dr. Jameson then gave a statement about some of the material in the Library of Congress and the opportunities for workers.

In the joint session with the Bibliographical Society it was announced that the work on the completion of Sabin was continuing; and that the next meeting would be at Washington, in May, with the subject, Latin-American bibliography. Mr. Pellett's paper on a Bibliography of Water Transportation was a model of bibliographical process, and described the prospect of a printed volume in 1930. Mr. W. H. Bonner unravelled the tangled skein of the successive appearances of Dampier's voyages in various editions and the interest aroused in travels thereby, and the influence on Defoe and other writers. Mr. C. D. Abbott described the revived interest in Christopher Smart and in his writings, giving a brief description of his life

and characterization of his work, preliminary to a complete bibliography.

At the conference of Historical Societies Mr. W. C. Ford read a delightful paper on Historical Societies, Living and Dead. His discussion of what historical societies had done and what they might do should be pondered by every curator. In particular he made a suggestion for the photostating of newspapers in a reduced size, with an example of what he had done with the *Boston Transcript*. This method would make possible the preservation at a comparatively slight cost of the more important newspapers and the housing problem would be much simplified.

Practical questions concerning teaching received much attention. In the session on History and other Social Studies in the Schools Professor Krey, chairman of our committee, read a paper on Thirty Years after the Committee of Seven, which is printed in the *Historical Outlook* for February. At the joint luncheon of the Committee on History and other Social Studies with the National Council for Social Studies, Professor Randall of Illinois read a paper on the Interrelationships of Social and Constitutional History. He pointed out the importance of exploring legal records for the light they throw upon social conditions, and suggested that this is an undeveloped field in which many valuable dissertations could be prepared. Mr. Strevey, at the session of the National Council for Social Studies, reported the results of an experiment made at the University of Chicago High School by Dr. H. C. Hill on the Correlation of Modern European and American History.

The luncheon conference on the Problem of Freshman History Instruction was attended by about one hundred, and there was intense interest manifested in the subject. The chairman, Mr. Noyes, discussed the desirability of having a section devoted to the problems of the first year. This was followed by four brief talks: Professor Tryon of Chicago, discussing Organization and Methods, stated that the work of the first two years had become part of the secondary school system and that the methods of instruction would have to conform to those used in the earlier part of the secondary field; that the methods of instruction in the lower schools were excellent and that those in the first two college years were very much in need of improvement. Professor G. D. Andrews, of Iowa, outlined some of the experiments with collateral work which had been made at Iowa. Professor Krey, on Correlation of High School and Freshman History Work, suggested that the previous record of students in the high schools furnishes a basis for greater differential treatment in the first year course. Professor Heald, of Rutgers, summarized the results

of his investigation as secretary of a committee on the orientation course. He emphasized the great variety of such courses now existing but pointed out that at least sixty per cent. of them were under the direction of teachers of history. The session did not close until about 4:30. At the session on College and Research the two papers presented by Professor Nichols of Pennsylvania and Professor Shannon of the Kansas State Agricultural College should provide the committee with a programme which, though vast, is worth trying out. Professor Nichols emphasized the importance of local history, and developed a plan for a survey of the possibilities for research in the several states, which should contain an analysis of what has been done and a statement of what most needs to be done, and especially a guide to the source materials. For carrying on this survey and for utilizing the information gathered by it he thought that universities might (as some have done) serve as centres for stimulating and mobilizing the energies for potential work scattered among the smaller institutions and numerous historical societies. Professor Shannon developed the plan, suggesting that the country might be divided into spheres of influence. He prefaced his suggestions with a carefully prepared statistical survey of the university and college teachers of history throughout the country, whom he estimates to number over 3000, of whom less than 1000 have received the degree of doctor of philosophy and many of these in some field other than history.

The meeting of the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society, held conjointly with the meetings of the Historical Association, afforded an opportunity for interesting and fruitful contacts between historians, Orientalists, and philologists. Professor J. M. P. Smith of Chicago, in the Unique Element in Hebrew Thought, dealt with the idea of "divine selection" or the "chosen people". This idea was common to the Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, and Hebrews, but in the case of the first three it was purely selfish in character, and expressed nationalistic ambitions. In the case of the Hebrews political disaster and national suffering worked to produce a different, more ethical conception of divine selection, which, as interpreted by the prophets, became a divine mission to teach and lead the world. The paper by President Morgenstern of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, on the Historical Beginnings of Judaism, took sharp issue with the view upheld by Eduard Meyer and his followers, according to which Judaism, as distinct from the earlier national religion of Israel, had its origin in the return of Ezra, and pointed out that the origins of Judaism were much earlier. The elements of legalism and ritualism, upon which Meyer has laid such emphasis, are only incidental features of Judaism and not its fundamental charac-

teristics. The third paper, by Professor Buckler of Oberlin, traced in outline the relations of the Persian and Mogul empires from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and related the vicissitudes of Mogul vassaldom and independence. Professor Solomon Zeitlin, of Dropsie College, presented an account, after Josephus, of the Jewish Revolution of 65-70, and indicated certain features and incidents of that movement, which were, he thought, analogous to events and phases of the French and Russian revolutions.

In the session on Ancient History Professor West of Cincinnati read a paper on the Serpent Column and the Non-Tributary Members of the Delian League, which furnished a very interesting example of method and threw light on the history of the league. Professor Caldwell of Michigan in discussing the Age of Pericles refuted the theory that the glorious Athenian age was founded by a small leisure class. "Political life was organized, not on the basis of supporting a citizen class in idleness, but of making it possible for all to take part in government." Professor Laistner of Cornell read a paper on the Influence of Isocrates's Political Doctrines on some Fourth Century Men of Affairs, which was in part a criticism of Professor Barker's interpretation in the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

In the session on the Far East Professor MacNair of Chicago in discussing the Ming Dynasty Background of Chinese Foreign Problems said: "The period was marked by the extension of Chinese overlordship . . . by the arrival of the first Europeans by sea, and the beginnings of those contacts of religion and commerce which broadened so greatly under their Manchu successors. Chinese superiority and complacency in dealing with foreigners were products of Ming policy." Professor Hail of Wooster College read a paper on Li Hung Chang and Chino-Japanese Relations, 1871-1879, based upon a study of the papers of the great viceroy. This was the period in which many of the precedents which determined the later relations between the two countries were laid down. What Chinese Historians are doing in their *Own History*, by Mr. Hummel, of the Library of Congress, is a stimulating paper on the studies of a group of Chinese scholars. As a result of their examination of early records every Western history of China will have to be revised. This critical spirit is no new phenomenon but was very active a full century ago.

Medieval history received even more attention than usual. At the dinner of the members of the Mediaeval Academy Professor Emerton gave a delightful talk on a Reconsideration of the Middle Ages. At the session on the Manor, Professor Neilson of Mt. Holyoke made a "plea" for the study of local variations in the form and organization of the agrarian unit in different parts of England. Dr.

Ault, of Boston University, discussed one of Miss Neilson's points: "Are we sometimes able to discover village life under the crust of manorialism?" He answered; emphatically, Yes, and illustrated his answer from the by-laws of two different types of villages. Miss Muhlfeld of Hunter College spoke of the light thrown upon three of Miss Neilson's points by the records of the Manor of Wye in Kent. At Wye Miss Muhlfeld showed that the yoke did not consist of contiguous blocks of land and that they were of very unequal size, varying from 28 to 101 acres; but the servile yokes owed approximately equal rents and revenues.

In an account of the Place of Legal History in Medieval Studies Professor Plucknett of Harvard called attention to the fact that the value of investigations in legal history has long been recognized by historians of the Continental schools, while this field of research has been unduly neglected by English and American investigators. The paper supports the belief that a study of law will, instead of being the study of mere formalism, enable the historian to learn much of man as a social human being. The Correspondence of Gregory VII., presented by Professor Emerton of Harvard, dealt with the problem of discovering, collecting, and editing papal documents of this type and the need of new editions of scientific worth. Professor Emerton explained how the dominant character of Hildebrand is reflected in the correspondence. In a paper entitled Dr. Coulton, Interpreter of the Middle Ages, Professor A. H. Sweet of Washington and Jefferson College expressed the opinion that Dr. Coulton's dark pictures of many sides of Medieval life are to be accounted for by his attempt to counteract the roseate view presented, according to Dr. Coulton, by most of the English writers.

The members of the association interested in the field of modern European history had a luncheon at which Professor Fay of Smith College presided. The informal committee appointed at the Rochester meeting to investigate the question of establishing a modern European history review made its final report. Professor Schmitt, of the University of Chicago, editor of the new journal, announced that the first number would appear in March and transmitted the request of the University of Chicago Press for the formation of a simple organization of men and women interested in modern European history, that could be responsible for the management and control of the publication. The luncheon group authorized the presiding officer to appoint a committee to draft plans for such an organization. Professor Fay appointed C. P. Higby of Wisconsin, W. E. Lingelbach of Pennsylvania, E. M. Carroll of Duke, F. C. Palm of California, and Judith Williams of Wellesley, to serve on the committee.

At the session on modern European history Professor Riker of Texas read an interesting summary of the difficult conditions under which Alexander John Couza founded Rumania. In a paper on French Dreams of Colonial Empire under the Directory and Consulate C. L. Lokke of Columbia attempted to show the coöperation of Talleyrand and Napoleon in substituting Egypt for the West Indies as a field of colonization. Professor Wendell of Long Island University explained the origin and misuse of the Protégé System of Morocco.

At the English history session F. G. Marcham of Cornell, whose subject was the Value of Private Correspondence in the Study of Elizabethan and Early Stuart Social History, stated that little use had been made of these private letters except by students of literature, whereas they contain rich material for the study of social customs, and fill gaps and correct inaccuracies in data gathered from contemporary literature. The paper by Professor Nef of Chicago on the Relation of the English Coal Industry in the Seventeenth Century to the Growing Economic and Political Power of the Town Merchant, gave an illuminating description of the amount of capital invested in the coal trade of the period, which was so great that it could, in the long run, be carried on only by the participation of the wealthy merchants, who were thus able to secure financial control of the industry. Professor Morgan of Indiana, in his paper on the Last Tory Ministry of Queen Anne and the Coup d'État of 1714, described the events leading to the disaster that overtook Oxford, Bolingbroke, and their party. Dr. T. P. Martin of the Library of Congress, in a paper on Anglo-American Anti-Slavery Relations, pictured the great concern shown at an early date by British opponents of slavery in conditions in America and emphasized the connection between that concern and certain British economic interests.

The session on American prehistory, presided over by Professor Guthe of Michigan, represented an effort to demonstrate the important relations between history, archaeology, and anthropology, and the mutual dependence of those disciplines in many types of investigation. One can not help wondering why American prehistory, which so engrosses the interest of many European scholars, has received so little attention on the programmes of the Association. Professor Herskovitz of Northwestern University spoke on the methods of establishing chronology in prehistory. The data for determining it are furnished by geology, palaeontology, and archaeology, and on the basis of such data it has been possible to establish recognized time-series. Professor F.-C. Cole of Chicago expounded the hypothesis of culture areas. He pointed out that in Central America

the sharp physiographic and climatic contrasts provide ideal conditions for contact between many different cultures. To these were added other important contacts due to cultural haunts, north and south, over this highway between the continents. Out of these developed a high degree of civilization. Valuable contributions to the discussion were made by the chairman and by Professor Olmstead, who described some of the important conclusions that the comparative study of archaeological and other data had made possible as to the chronology of the Mediterranean region.

At the luncheon for the Commemoration of the Revolution in the West, Mr. Charles Moore, who presided, pointed out that the association is national, not local, in character. The movement for a memorial to George Rogers Clark was outlined by Mr. Coleman, who called attention to the fact that, while an appropriation had been obtained from Congress in behalf of the commemoration, it was a definite part of the plan that the states of the Old Northwest should join in the commemoration. The parts which the states were taking in the commemoration were set forth by C. J. Richards, J. A. James, and Mrs. Backus, while A. C. Cole of the Mississippi Valley Historical Commission spoke of the functions of that committee as limited essentially to the promotion of coördination among the several groups. Professor James declared that the best statement of the significance of Clark's conquest of the Northwest was to be found in Dr. Jameson's representation to the Committee of Congress.

At the luncheon on Colonial and Revolutionary history the need for more work was stressed by Professor Morison. The opportunities and needs of the study of the legal history of the period were discussed by Professor Greene and Mr. R. B. Morris, of the agricultural by Professor Craven, of the military by Professor Carter. The advisability of taking the imperial point of view in New England history was pointed out by Professor Viola F. Barnes. The study of the period from 1690 to 1760, she said, "may well suggest that William of Orange was more responsible than George III. for the loss of the colonies".

At the session on the Revolution, Dr. R. G. Adams of the Clements Library spoke of the new information for the surrender of Burgoyne. Professor Rife of Hamline University, in *Ethan Allen: an Interpretation*, discussed Allen's opportunism. The evidence is conclusive that in 1782 he ardently hoped that Vermont would become a British province. His mercurial character, however, should be interpreted with due regard to his frontier background. Professor Bonham of Hamilton College in discussing the religious side of Joseph Brant characterized him as an "altruistic Indian". Finding

Kirkland the main obstacle to carrying the Six Nations into the British service Brant sought to discredit him by asserting that his doctrines and forms of worship were false and disloyal. Brant's work among the Iroquois after the Revolution and his religious publications were described. Professor Abbey, of the Florida State College for Women, traced the Spanish projects for the re-occupation of the Floridas during the American Revolution and brought out the various causes which made the attempts a failure.

At the session on the Frontier Professor Parish, of California, in his paper John Stuart and the Cartography of the Indian Boundary Line, offered interesting additions to knowledge on the subject from manuscript maps and survey notes, hitherto unused. Mr. Wesley, University City High School, St. Louis, pointed out the importance of the Indian agent as the channel of the diplomatic and economic dealings of the American government with the Indians, 1815-1825, and as the adviser of frontier commanders. Professor Pelzer of Iowa in his paper, Losses and Profits on Western Cattle Ranges, sketched the history of certain corporate enterprises founded on the promise of great profits from the Western ranges; he established the miscalculations and the rapidly changing frontier conditions of the West that wrecked them.

At the joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association Professor James read a paper on Oliver Pollock, Financier of the Revolution in the West. He showed that Pollock, through his integrity, experience, and wide knowledge, was in a position to further the American cause with the Spaniards. He was able to advance some \$300,000 to the state of Virginia and to the Continental Congress but almost bankrupted himself. Without Pollock the work of Clark in the Mississippi Valley would have been virtually impossible. Professor Roll, Indiana State Normal School, in *Indiana's Part in the Nomination of Lincoln in 1860*,¹ showed that Indiana with thirteen electoral votes and the Northwest with fifty-eight were of great importance to Republican success. Indiana was essentially a conservative state. In the convention the leadership of H. S. Lane, an admirer of Clay, was important; as neither Seward nor Chase found much support in the state its delegation was uninstructed. Lincoln, as was pointed out by Mr. W. C. Ford in discussing the paper, was a candidate who was at once conservative and available; therefore he ultimately secured the unpledged delegation of the state. The paper on James H. Lane by Professor W. H. Stephenson, Louisiana State University, showed that Lane came to Kansas in 1855 from a Democratic state and that he speedily became a radical. In his first

¹ To be published in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History*.

activities Lane was affiliated with the Douglas wing of the Democratic party so that his change later to a strong advocate of Kansas as a free state was probably caused by desire for a seat in the United States Senate. Robinson the Republican leader was more conservative; so Lane must become radical in order to gain his point.

In discussing Professor Phillips's paper, "The Central Theme of Southern History", Professor Craven of Chicago said: "it was not until Northern radicals, using the opposition to slavery for political purposes, forced the South to evolve a defensive mechanism that the fear of Africanization was brought into use by the Southern radical. War and Reconstruction made negro domination a real danger and produced the cementing factor for a solid South." Professor Cole of Wisconsin stressed the climate as a central theme.

Professor Hamilton criticized Phillips's thesis in two respects; he had not differentiated sufficiently between the thought of the cotton belt and that of the Upper South, and he had taken a single phase in the central theme for the whole. Professor Hamilton doubted if the issue of white supremacy would ever have arisen if the negroes at the time of their enfranchisement had divided politically. In the general discussion Professor Knapp of Kentucky thought that Professor Phillips had confined his thesis too closely to one part of the South and that his generalizations were not apt when applied to other parts. Land, said Professor Knapp, is more nearly the basic factor in Southern history as it is in the rest of the country, although in the South another factor, the negro for the cultivation of the land, is of importance. Professor Hodder thought the theme too subtle and too general. Motives moving masses, he declared, are generally complex. Professor Phillips, replying briefly, expressed his gratification that his paper had been successful in drawing out such divergent views upon the subject. It was his reaction, he said, against the statement of Rhodes that slavery was the sole cause of the Civil War that had led him to prepare the paper. On the contrary there was actually a complex of elements—plantation system, climatic conditions, etc., etc., no one of which could be singled out as the cause—and if any factor had been eliminated the results would have been changed.

At the general session on Saturday evening three interesting papers were read. A brief digest could not be satisfactory for any one, and fortunately all will, it is thought, be available soon in published form. Professor Hodder's valuable discussion of the Dred Scott Case will be published in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Professor Volwiler's Benjamin Harrison and the Venezuelan Arbitration is a part of his large work on Benjamin Harrison. Professor Shryock's paper on the Origins and Significance of the

Public Health Movement in the United States is an earnest of his work which has been done under the endowment for research in honor of the late Senator Beveridge.

At the West Indian session, Professor Ragatz, of George Washington University, in his *Absentee Landlordism in the British Caribbean, 1750-1833*, showed that non-resident proprietorship was due to three forces, the high prices of tropical produce, inheritance, and the foreclosure of mortgages, each primarily operative in turn. Absentee landlordism was to a large extent responsible for the stagnation and decay into which the sugar islands had fallen by the eve of emancipation. R. D. Hussey's *Spanish Reaction to Foreign Aggressions in the Caribbean to 1680* was an account of French, English, and Dutch depredations, occupation, and seizure. The Drake and Hawkins raid of 1585 caused a great stir of energy on the part of the Spanish government, but the Armada disaster and Philip II.'s death checked this. Spain ultimately found a solution for her problems in making cessions of territory to her three rivals and in joining forces with them to crush the freebooters. Professor Russell's *Reaction in England and America to the Capture of Havana, 1762*, set forth British joy on both sides of the Atlantic at the taking of this key city in the Caribbean and the general dissatisfaction over its return to Spain. Professor Kohlmeier, in his *Commercial Relations of the United States and the Dutch West Indies, 1783-1789*, surveyed the large-scale smuggling trade between the Americans and the British planters, carried on via Holland's Caribbean possessions, following the closing of British West Indian ports to citizens of the United States.

At the Hispanic American session three papers were read and three reports made. The first paper, that of Dr. Belaunde of Miami University, was analyzed by Professor I. J. Cox in the absence of the author. Its central theme was that the resulting nationalities of the Revolution of the American colonies against the mother country were determined by forces and principles established by Spain itself—both ethical and political. In the paper on the Papacy and Spanish-American Independence Professor Mecham of Michigan traced the steps both political and religious leading to the recognition of the independence of the former Spanish colonies by the Vatican.

Professor Williams of Goucher College, in her paper *Secessionist Diplomacy of Yucatan*, reviewed briefly the political factors involved from the period of the war with Texas until 1848. She showed the overtures made to the United States for aid and annexation, the apathy with which these were received, and the final factor of the rebellion of the Maya Indians which forced Yucatan back into the arms of Mexico.

In his Report on the Proposed Critical Bibliography dealing with Hispanic American History, Professor Wilgus of South Carolina reviewed the plan which has been made part of the agenda proposed by the advisory committee to the Board of Directors of the Pan American Union in the project for a Continental bibliography formulated by the Sixth Pan American Conference in 1928. Dr. T. P. Martin, of the Library of Congress, read a comprehensive report on Transcripts, Facsimiles, and Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the Library of Congress. The library will allow photostat copies of its index to be distributed among investigators and libraries for a modest charge, while the transcripts themselves will be loaned to libraries for the use of investigators. Dr. Robertson, in a report on the Inter-American Historical Series, announced that the University of North Carolina Press had already obtained about 500 subscriptions for the complete work—fifteen or sixteen volumes. Most of the histories to be translated have been chosen; Professor Shepherd has promised to act as editor for the atlas, which will form the last volume of the series. The first volume to be published, it is hoped in 1929, will be the history of Chile by Galdames, translated and edited by Professor Cox.

At the joint session with the Agricultural History Society, Professor Whitaker of Western Reserve University presented a paper entitled the Spanish Contribution to American Agriculture. Spanish agriculture soon gained a firm foothold in America, long outlived the conquest, and remains today the basis of Latin-American agriculture. Spain began the systematic transfer of her agricultural products immediately after the discovery of America. So quickly was this effected that by 1535 Mexico was already exporting wheat to the West Indies. The paper, *Lincoln and Agriculture*, was by Professor Ross of Iowa State College. Lincoln's appointment of an important politician as the first commissioner of agriculture and his support of this individual, against protests, was an inauspicious beginning for federal activity in agriculture. In the homestead, railroad, and college land-grant measures, he made no attempt to safeguard the interests of small holders, and evidently thought of this legislation in connection with winning the war rather than as to its future possibilities. The third paper, by Professor Osgood of Minnesota, the *Cattlemen in the Agricultural History of the Northwest*, showed that the range-cattle industry of the northern section of the high plains was never seriously threatened by an advancing agricultural frontier. Its decline was due to conditions inherent in the business. The cattlemen, unable to devise any system of range control which would prevent overcrowding, eventually were forced to turn to private ownership of land. As

Professor Sioussat was absent a summary of his paper was read. The Breakdown of Royal Land Management in the Southern Provinces was a study of the royal instructions of 1773 and 1774, by which the granting of lands in the royal provinces was first stopped and then placed upon a new basis. The purpose of this procedure was to increase the revenue from quit-rents and sales of land.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY TO THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

December 29, 1928

It is the duty of the Secretary at the annual business meeting to carry to the members a report from the Council of the Association.

The problem in which our membership will probably take the greatest interest is that of the *Review*. A year ago, Dr. J. F. Jameson's transfer from the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution to the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress made necessary his resignation as managing editor of the *Review* to take effect on June 30, 1928. During Dr. Jameson's directorship of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution, the editorial expenses of the *Review*, that is, the salary of the editor, the salary of the subeditor, and necessary secretarial and stenographic aid, were provided by the Institution. Dr. Jameson's transfer, therefore, added a considerable sum to the budget of the Association for the publication of the *Review*. The committee on the future of the *Review*, appointed by the Council, felt that time was needed to obtain, through the campaign for the Endowment Fund, or otherwise, the annual income required for editorial expenses. A temporary arrangement for the managing editorship was, therefore, authorized by the Council, and through the generosity of Professor D. C. Munro, this work is being carried forward for the year July 1, 1928, to June 30, 1929, with unchanged efficiency. Negotiations are now in progress for a more permanent arrangement beginning with next July. It may be remarked that there is sufficient editorial work connected with the publishing activities of the Association combined with that of the *Review* to demand the full time of an editor. The financial situation at the present moment seems, however, to make necessary an arrangement for only part of the time of the scholar appointed. The committee recommended to the Council, which has given its approval, that an immediate effort be made to raise an endowment for the maintenance of the *Review* producing an annual income of \$10,000, or in lieu of that, a guarantee fund of an equivalent income for a period of years until the endowment can be provided.

I have to report the following figures as to our membership. Of recorded members there are 3537 divided as follows: life, 407; annual, 2740; and institutions, 390, representing a gain of 68 over 1927, and a very striking gain of 52 in life memberships. Acting on the recommendation of the chairman of the committee on membership, the Council at its November meeting reorganized the committee, making it a small committee of 5 and empowering it to appoint committees and subagents to assist it in its work. Professor Nichols remains its chairman. I take this occasion to remind the members of the Association that the work of this committee can never be fully effective unless it receives the support

and enthusiastic interest of every individual in our society. We do not wish to dragoon unwilling victims into membership by the methods of supersalesmanship. But we can all contribute, and especially those of us who are teachers can contribute, to diffusing a wider interest in the work of our body and in enlarging the sphere of its usefulness.

I pass to a discussion of the work of some of the most active and important committees of the Association. The Committee on Endowment has continued its labors during the past year. Mr. Ivy Lee of New York City has generously accepted the chairmanship. In the course of the year a second appeal was made to our members, with the result that contributions have now been received from 23 per cent. of our membership as compared with 19 per cent. last May. The total sum raised is now \$224,017.42.

Amongst other committees one of the most important is the Committee on the Revolving Fund. This committee disposes of a fund of \$25,000, the grant of the Carnegie Corporation, to be used for the publication of meritorious works in the historical field which might not prove tempting to a commercial publisher. Its chairman is Professor E. P. Cheyney. During the last year three works have been approved by the committee and two of the three are now in print. They are Ragatz, *Fall of the Planter Class in the West Indies*, and Lonn, *Desertion during the Civil War*. Heidel's *Day of Yahweh*² will probably appear in February. Two other works have been tentatively accepted and are now undergoing revision by their respective authors.

The activities of this committee deserve especially to be underlined. Here is a means of direct aid to publication in the field of history. Though becoming better known, it is by no means as generally known as it ought to be. I am glad to have this opportunity of recalling it to the attention of our membership. I am glad also to call attention at this point to the fact that, acting on the request of the Ad Interim Committee of the Council, I have prepared for the January issue of the *Review* an article on "Aids to Research and Publication" which, it is hoped, will prove useful to the members of our Association.

Several other committees have in hand useful works of publication for the promotion of historical scholarship. The Committee on Bibliography reports that its *Bibliography of Historical Literature*, long in preparation, will be pushed rapidly to conclusion. Twenty of the twenty-six chapters of this work are already in galley-proof, the twenty-first is in the hands of the publisher, and the remaining five are being advanced toward completion. This enterprise is now under the joint chairmanship of Professor Sidney B. Fay and Professor Henry R. Shipman. The prolonged illness of Professor Dutcher has made necessary his retirement as chairman after a long period of conscientious service.

The Committee on a Bibliography of Modern British History reports that about eighty per cent. of its material is in final form, awaiting only copying for the printer. The only sections still incomplete are those of local history, military and naval history, and the history of culture, and these three sections are now being worked upon by members of the committee. Arrangements are in progress for the signing of the contract with the Oxford Press for the publication of this work. Its completion within the next year is hoped for. The committee's work has dealt, it should be stated, with the Tudor period. The committee has been fortunate in securing the coöperation of a number of British and American

² Now published.

scholars who have revised the sections on which they have specialized knowledge.

The Committee on the Bibliography of Travel reports progress and provision has been made for the continuation of its activities on a scale permitting more rapid execution of the work during the next year.

Attention should also be called to the provision made by the Council with regard to the publication of the *Annual Report* and the *Writings on American History*. At its meeting this morning the Council adopted a report tendered by Professor Stock, which provides for the publication of several of the reports in a single volume, and for the bringing up to date of the *Writings*. Dr. Stock assured the Council that no administrative regulations of the Government Printing Office would stand in the way of this plan. It seems, therefore, as if we were nearer the goal of bringing these publications up to date than we have been at any other time.

The American Historical Association at its maximum effectiveness must concern itself not only with the work of historical research, but also with the teaching of history. I, therefore, report with great pleasure that the Committee on History and Other Social Studies in the Schools has received a substantial grant from the Carnegie Corporation for the carrying on of its investigation. Already enough is known to emphasize the great significance of the task undertaken. The immense growth of our high schools, the prospect that in a future by no means remote virtually every child of high-school age will be attending such a school, creates a problem of large proportions for all teachers, no less for the teacher of the social studies. Moreover, teaching in the schools reacts vitally upon the teaching in the colleges. On the one hand, it is the college which must provide the teachers for such instruction. On the other hand, the curriculum of the high schools can hardly fail to affect the curriculum of the college. The work of the committee ought to be of the very greatest significance to all those who are interested in the teaching of history. The committee will concern itself with three major problems: (1) an attempt to measure the value of the teaching of the social sciences at the present time, on the basis of certain carefully defined tests; (2) the development of a curriculum that shall be cumulative in its character; (3) the problem of the treatment to be accorded that diminishing minority of high school students who intend to go on to the university. It will probably take five years to arrive at definite conclusions, but there can be no doubt of the value of the task.

In closing this account of committee service, I desire to point out that in order to render the work of its committees more effective, the Council now follows the practice of making appointments at the November session. It is hoped that in this way occasion may be found for the fullest personal conference of the members of committees at the time of the annual meeting.

In the course of the last few years the work of the various learned societies dealing with the social studies has been more perfectly coördinated and systematized through the establishment of such federal agencies as the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies. The work of these agencies is participated in by our own body and certain aspects of that work deserve to be called very particularly to the attention of our members. I shall not speak here of the fellowships and grants in aid which such bodies provide for the encouragement of research, referring my hearers in this regard to the article in the

January number of the *Review* and to the special publications and bulletins of the organizations in question. But I wish to direct the attention of our members to certain special activities of both. The first of these is the prospective appearance on March 1 of the first number of *Social Science Abstracts*. This periodical, which will be a quarterly in form, will publish abstracts of important books and articles dealing with the social sciences. In connection with the summaries of articles some three thousand periodicals in twenty languages will be regularly examined. At the outset not more than fifteen thousand abstracts a year will be printed. They will naturally vary in length with the importance of the article. They will be cross-referenced and elaborate annual indexes will be published. This ambitious project, by which the learning of the whole world will be easily made more available to scholars, is perhaps the greatest piece of coöperative effort in the field of social sciences that has ever been undertaken. It is an impressive example of what we may do for one another. The scholar has ever been an individualist. We need to realize more fully the possibilities of common and collective effort, of the type that is here involved.

There should also be noted the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* which is in preparation under the editorship of Professor E. R. A. Seligman. This *Encyclopedia* will consist of fifteen volumes of which the first, expected to appear next September, will be devoted in considerable part to introductory material, including a study in twelve or fifteen chapters of the progress of the social sciences as a reflex of social and political development, from the time of the Greeks to the present. Other divisions of the introductory material will deal with the explanation of the venture, the history of encyclopedia-making, the teaching of the social sciences here and abroad, and an annotated bibliography of epoch-making works in the field of the social sciences.

A project of still greater interest, very near to the hearts of our members, is that of the American Council of Learned Societies for a *Dictionary of American Biography*. It would be superfluous to enter upon any description of this enterprise, one in which, from its very nature, the members of this Association have had from the beginning a very special interest, to which they will largely contribute, and from which they will derive immense advantage.

In addition to its participation in the activities of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Historical Association is represented on the International Committee of Historical Sciences. This body, which represents the first permanent organization of the historical scholarship of the world, will attain an increasing importance as time goes on and may be expected to contribute not only to the advancement of knowledge but, it is to be hoped, to a better understanding among scholars of different nationalities. It is supported in part by contributions from the various national units or governments, but also by a grant from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation of \$6000 per annum for a period of five years, beginning with 1929, which was made in part through the request of our Association. The International Committee sponsored the International Congress at Oslo, described by Dr. Jameson in the January number of the *Review*. It is undertaking various projects of coöperative research of which the most important is the *International Year Book of Historical Bibliography*, a publication which will appear annually, and in which American scholars are now coöperating through a committee of this Association.

The various activities which I have hitherto described are activities of our own Association or of bodies in which our Association is a participating member. The charter of the American Historical Association, however, directs the Secretary to report on the state of history in the nation. In conformity with this direction, I ask your attention to certain other noteworthy aspects of progress of historical science during the past year.

First to be noted is the ambitious programme of transcribing material in foreign archives, which is sponsored by the Library of Congress. Professor Samuel F. Bemis has been entrusted with the supervision of this work. Work has already been carried on at some of the most important of European depositories. At the British Museum, for example, transcripts have been made on a considerable scale, principally of documents in the field of American history before 1783. This work was practically completed in August. Work is now proceeding upon documents since 1783 and upon recently acquired documents. Copious lists of maps are also being made available in the same way. In the Public Record Office work has been going on since February on the correspondence of British ministers in the United States. In the Archives Nationales and the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères arrangements have been made for carrying on similar activities, and a certain amount of material relating to French interest in the War of Independence has already been prepared. A qualified permission has been received from the appropriate authorities to carry on transcribing at Simancas, Seville, and Madrid. By these means an immense amount of material will be made available to American scholars.

The past year has also seen the completion of plans for three new American historical periodicals. The first is the *Journal of Modern History*, published at the University of Chicago Press with Professor Bernardotte Schmitt as editor. The new journal will deal with the period from the Renaissance to the close of the Great War, excluding the United States and Latin America. Its first number appears in March, 1929, and it will hereafter be published as a quarterly. There is also to be noted the appearance of the *New England Quarterly* in January, 1928. This periodical, the subtitle of which is "An Historical Journal of Life and Letters in New England", is edited by Stewart Mitchell and deals with many different aspects of the life of New England, not only in colonial times but also in its later history. The first number of the *Journal of Economic and Business History*, published at Harvard University, under the editorship of Professor Edwin F. Gay, appeared in November.

Projects such as these attest to the vigorous interest that historical research inspires at the present time. Nor is history the object of interest to scholars alone. It is a striking fact that two of the most successful novels of the past year were historical in their general setting, and that the most striking and successful work of poetry published during the year is in large part historical narrative. The popular interest in biography is very great and much work of this kind has been published during the past year by historians and others. It would be invidious to praise or to blame, yet there can be no impropriety in recalling to your attention the appearance of Beveridge's *Lincoln*. The perusal of this work only intensifies the sense of loss which members of the Association have felt at the passing of this distinguished scholar and man of letters. History in America is permanently the poorer that he did not live to complete his interpreta-

tion of Lincoln. The great drama of a rather commonplace and ordinary politician growing into a great leader under the fire of responsibility and the stress of circumstance has never been better portrayed.

Mr. Beveridge was one of those historians who, without sacrificing research, was aware to the full of his obligation to the reader to present the results of his researches in the best possible literary form. There is in this matter for profound reflection. If propagandist history and nationalistic history prevail over objective science, as at times it seems that they may, it will be because members of the historical gild neglect this elementary and fundamental obligation. Thought and form are both indispensable. Are we always sufficiently mindful of this fact?

In the course of the past year, the hue and cry raised against objective and scientific history by men who spoke in the name of patriotism has much subsided. There are, in the more popular historical pieces of writing, more evidences of iconoclasm than of hero-worship. Nor is it easy when confronted with sentimentality or super-heated nationalism to refrain from inclining the balance too far the other way. Objective history is an ideal easier to be stated than to be realized. It is not too much to hope, however, that the members of our profession will at least aspire to that ideal. The members of our body beyond all question accept this ideal. They believe that the pursuit of truth is their end and an end challenging in itself and useful to society. The history of the past year offers hope that this ideal will prevail.

DEXTER PERKINS.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

REPORT OF F. W. LAFRENTZ AND COMPANY

November 30, 1928.

The American Historical Association,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs: We have audited your accounts and records from November 2, 1927, to November 1, 1928, inclusive. Our report, including two Exhibits, is as follows:

EXHIBIT

- A STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS—GENERAL
- B STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS—AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

We verified the cash receipts, as shown by the records, and the cash disbursements were compared with cancelled checks and vouchers on file. They are in agreement with the Treasurer's report. The cash called for by the records of the funds was reconciled with the bank statements. We inspected the securities of the Association, \$194,900.00, par value, as called for by the records, except: \$4,000.00 in the Lorain Telephone Company; \$5,000.00 Commonwealth of Australia; \$5,000.00 Associated Gas and Electric Company, which were in transit, to be exchanged for permanent bonds, according to letter received by us from the Union Trust Company, dated November 28, 1928.

Respectfully submitted,

F. W. LAFRENTZ AND COMPANY,
Certified Public Accountants.

EXHIBIT A

From November 2, 1927, to November 1, 1928

RECEIPTS

Annual Dues.....		\$13,958.39
Endowment Fund (including life membership)...		66,102.38
Profit in exchange of bonds.....		106.88
Bonds redeemed.....		16,650.00
Revertment from John H. Dunning Prize Fund..		50.00
Registration fees.....		322.00
Royalties		68.35
Andrew D. White Fund:		
Royalties	\$1.84	
Interest	67.00	
		<hr/> 68.84
Publications:		
Prize Essays.....	\$21.80	
Papers and Annual Reports.....	30.50	
Writings on American History.....	25.00	
Church History Papers.....	7.00	
		<hr/> 84.30
Grant for Committee on History and Other Social Studies in the Schools from Carnegie Cor- poration of New York.....		10,000.00
Grant from Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial for the International Committee of Histori- cal Sciences.....		7,000.00
Grant from John D. Rockefeller, jr., for study of racial and linguistic origins.....		5,000.00
Miscellaneous		45.35
John H. Dunning Prize Fund:		
Refund by Executors.....	\$50.00	
Interest	100.00	
		<hr/> 150.00
Interest:		
Endowment Fund.....	\$5,034.50	
George L. Beer Prize Fund.....	305.00	
Carnegie Revolving Publication Fund.....	1,280.00	
William A. Dunning Fund.....	250.00	
<i>American Historical Review</i> Fund.....	460.00	
Albert J. Beveridge Fund.....	1,040.00	
Littleton-Griswold Fund.....	225.00	
Bank deposits.....	732.09	
		<hr/> 9,326.59
		<hr/> \$128,933.08
Cash on deposit, Union Trust Company, Novem- ber 2, 1927.....		33,297.48
		<hr/> \$162,230.56

DISBURSEMENTS

Secretary and Treasurer.....		\$4,887.85
Pacific Coast Branch.....		400.00
Committees of Management:		
Nominations	\$69.50	
Membership	76.30	
Programme	486.16	
Local Arrangements.....	259.55	
Executive Council.....	376.91	
Endowment	6,736.15	
Treasurer's contingent fund.....	210.25	
		<hr/> 8,214.82
Historical Activities:		
Committee on Bibliography.....	\$504.82	
Committee on Publications.....	469.09	
Public Archives Commission.....	75.00	
Conference of Historical Societies.....	25.00	
Writings on American History.....	200.00	
American Council of Learned Societies.....	185.97	
International Committee of Historical Sciences	25.00	
Committee on Carnegie Publication Fund....	125.90	
Committee on Bibliography of Travel.....	116.25	
		<hr/> 1,727.03
Special funds administered by the American Historical Association:		
American Council of Learned Societies:		
John D. Rockefeller, jr., Grant.....		6,048.29 ³
Committee on History and Other Social Studies in the Schools:		
Commonwealth Fund Grant.....	1,732.61	
Carnegie Corporation Grant.....	6,120.24	
		<hr/> 7,852.85
International Committee of Historical Sciences:		
Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Grant		6,500.00
Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.....		200.00
<i>American Historical Review</i>		8,568.98
Endowment Fund Investments.....		72,637.13
Interest on bonds to date of purchase.....		582.09
		<hr/> \$117,619.04
Cash on deposit, Union Trust Company, November 1, 1928.....		44,611.52
		<hr/> \$162,230.56

³ Including amount from grant of the previous year.

EXHIBIT B

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

RECEIPTS

The Macmillan Company, per contract.....	\$2,400.00
Interest on Bank deposits.....	16.25
Profit for year ended July 15, 1928, received from Macmillan Company.....	1,838.25
Sale of reprints.....	33.95
	<hr/>
	\$4,288.45
Cash on deposit, Union Trust Company, November 2, 1927	720.84
	<hr/>
	\$5,009.29

DISBURSEMENTS

Office of Managing Editor:	
Salary	\$833.32
Petty cash account.....	192.06
	<hr/>
	\$1,025.38
Stationery, printing, and supplies.....	26.75
Binding	2.00
Publications	12.30
Travelling expenses.....	634.44
Contributors to the <i>Review</i> :	
January Number.....	\$467.25
April Number.....	401.50
July Number.....	470.75
October Number.....	374.25
	<hr/>
	1,713.75
Reprints	92.96
Subscriptions to <i>Review</i> for European libraries.....	40.00
	<hr/>
	\$3,547.58
Cash on deposit, Union Trust Company, November 1, 1928	1,461.71
	<hr/>
	\$5,009.29

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

BUDGET FOR 1929

ESTIMATED RECEIPTS

Annual dues.....	\$14,000.00
Interest on endowment and on bank balances.....	10,000.00
Royalties	100.00
Publications	100.00
Registration fees.....	200.00
Government appropriation for printing Report.....	7,000.00
Miscellaneous	25.00
	<hr/>
	\$31,425.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Office of Secretary and Treasurer.....	\$5,000.00
Pacific Coast Branch.....	400.00
Committees of Management:	
Committee on Nominations.....	75.00
Committee on Membership.....	75.00
Committee on Programme.....	500.00
Committee on Local Arrangements.....	150.00
Executive Council.....	500.00
Committee on Endowment Fund (to be paid from con- tribution)
Treasurer's contingent fund.....	200.00
Historical Activities:	
Committee on Bibliography.....	500.00
Committee on Bibliography of Modern British History...	500.00
Committee on Publications.....	700.00
Printing Annual Report.....	7,000.00
Historical Manuscripts Commission.....	100.00
Conference of Historical Societies.....	25.00
Public Archives Commission.....	250.00
Writings on American History.....	400.00
American Council of Learned Societies.....	220.00
Committee on Historical Research in Colleges.....	50.00
International Committee of Historical Sciences.....	200.00
Committee on Bibliography of Travel.....	500.00
Prizes:	
Justin Winsor Prize, 1928.....	200.00
George Louis Beer Prize, 1928.....	250.00
<i>American Historical Review:</i>	
Copies sent to the membership.....	8,500.00
Editorial expenses in excess of receipts.....	5,086.00
	<hr/>
	\$31,606.00

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

BUDGET FOR 1929

RECEIPTS

The Macmillan Company, per contract.....	\$2,400.00
Interest on bank deposits.....	16.00
Profit for year ending July 15, 1929 (estimated from last year's receipts)	1,838.00
	<hr/>
	\$4,254.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Office of Managing Editor.....	\$6,500.00
Petty cash account.....	200.00
Stationery and supplies.....	50.00
Travelling expenses of members of the Board.....	650.00
Contributors to the <i>Review</i>	1,900.00
Subscriptions to the <i>Review</i> for European libraries.....	40.00
<hr/>	
Total expenses.....	9,340.00
Receipts	4,254.00
<hr/>	
Expenses to be paid from the unrestricted income of the Association	\$5,086.00

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL

The reports of the Secretary and of the Treasurer record most of the important actions taken by the Council. On November 2 the Ad Interim Committee of the Council voted that there be constituted a Committee on Policy composed of ten members, of which the chairman of the Ad Interim Committee and the Treasurer and Secretary shall be members *ex officio*. The duties of this committee shall be to consider in what way the resources at the command of the American Historical Association may best be utilized and to what purposes additional funds, as they come in, shall be applied. The committee shall take action more specifically on the following:

1. The disposition of the Beveridge and Griswold funds, and other funds which are or may be in the near future available for historical research and publication.
2. The function of the Association with regard to publication with its present means or such means as are likely to be available.
3. The work of the present committees of the Association which concern themselves with publication and the question as to whether their activities shall be continued.
4. The possibility of the enlargement of the *Review*.
5. The question as to how the funds of the Association have been affected by the activity of other agencies for the promotion of research in the other social sciences.

It was also voted that the committee should be composed as follows: Professor Dixon R. Fox, Columbia University, New York, chairman; Dr. J. F. Jameson, Professor F. L. Paxson, Professor J. P. Baxter, 3d, Professor P. J. Treat, Professor Wallace Notestein, Professor R. D. W. Connor, and the *ex officio* members. It is hoped that all members of the Association who have suggestions on any of these subjects will correspond with Professor Fox.

At the business meeting the reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were presented. A report was received from the Pacific Coast Branch, which is able to publish a full account of its meetings much more promptly than the parent society. The report of the Nominating Committee was read, and the persons nominated were elected as printed below.

The Secretary read a telegram from Mr. Ivy Lee, Chairman of the Endowment Committee, regretting his inability to attend the Indianapolis meeting, and expressing his earnest interest in the project of the endowment and his eager desire to coöperate in it.

Professor Harry J. Carman, Secretary of the Endowment Committee, addressed the Association on the subject of the endowment. He stated

that the sum of \$25,000 had been raised during the past year, in addition to the Beveridge and Griswold gifts, and spoke briefly of the plans of the new chairman of the committee, Mr. Ivy Lee, for 1929. Enthusiasm and gratitude were aroused by the announcement of Mr. J. W. Fesler that the friends of the late Senator Beveridge had contributed the balance necessary to complete the fund of \$100,000 in his honor.

The Secretary transmitted to the meeting the recommendation of the Council that the meeting of the Association for 1929 should take place at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, and the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, from December 30, 1929, to January 1, 1930. It was voted to approve the recommendation of the Council, and to fix the place and date of meeting as aforementioned.

The Secretary read a report of the deaths which had occurred among the members of the Association for the period December 15, 1927, to December 15, 1928. The Secretary read a memoir prepared by Professor Henry van Dyke upon the late William M. Sloane, formerly a president of the Association.

Professor E. B. Greene moved that the members of the Association express their high sense of the valued services of the late Professor John Spencer Bassett to the Association by a rising vote and that the memoir and record of the vote be transmitted to Mrs. Bassett. Professor Sidney B. Fay read a memoir upon Professor Bassett.

The Secretary announced the appointment of committees for the year 1929.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President, James H. Robinson, 173 Riverside Drive, New York.

First Vice-President, Evarts B. Greene, Columbia University, New York.

Second Vice-President, Ephraim D. Adams, Stanford University, California.

Secretary, Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York.⁴

Treasurer, Charles Moore, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Patty W. Washington, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

Editor, Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers):

John B. McMaster ⁵	Dana C. Munro
J. Franklin Jameson	Henry O. Taylor
Albert Bushnell Hart	James H. Breasted ⁵
Frederick J. Turner	James T. Adams
Andrew C. McLaughlin	William L. Clements
George L. Burr	Elizabeth Donnan
Worthington C. Ford	Joseph G. deR. Hamilton
Edward Channing	Samuel E. Morison
Jean Jules Jusserand	Dwight W. Morrow
Charles H. Haskins	Winfred T. Root
Edward P. Cheyney	Payson J. Treat
Charles M. Andrews	

⁴ For purposes of routine business the secretary may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

⁵ The names from that of Mr. McMaster to that of Mr. Breasted are those of ex-presidents.

OFFICERS OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH: *President*, Herbert I. Priestley, University of California; *Vice-President*, Frank W. Pitman, Pomona College; *Secretary-Treasurer*, Carl F. Brand, Stanford University; *Executive Council*, (the above and) Gilbert G. Benjamin, Robert C. Clark, Henry S. Lucas, John C. Parish.

COMMITTEES:

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Theodore C. Pease, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., chairman; Randolph G. Adams, Elizabeth Donnan, Reginald C. McGrane; Newton D. Mereness, Paul C. Phillips, Morgan P. Robinson.

Public Archives Commission: George S. Godard, State Library, Hartford, Conn., chairman; John H. Edmonds, Thomas M. Marshall, Charles W. Ramsdell, James G. Randall.

Committee on National Archives: Charles Moore, 1719 H Street, Washington, D. C., chairman; Tyler Dennett, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Eben Putnam, James B. Wilbur.

Committee on Bibliography: Henry R. Shipman, 27 Mercer Street, Princeton, N. J., chairman; William H. Allison, Solon J. Buck, Sidney B. Fay, Augustus H. Shearer. *Subcommittee on International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography*: Theodore Collier, Brown University, Providence, R. I., chairman; Frederick E. Brasch, Grace G. Griffin, Jonathan F. Scott.

Committee on Bibliography of Modern British History: Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., chairman; Arthur L. Cross, Godfrey Davies, Roger B. Merriman, Wallace Notestein, Conyers Read, Caroline F. Ware.

Committee on Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government: J. Franklin Jameson, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Worthington C. Ford, Andrew C. McLaughlin, John B. McMaster, Charles Moore, Frederick J. Turner.

Editors of the American Historical Review: Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, chairman; Dana C. Munro, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., managing editor; Francis A. Christie, Arthur C. Cole, Verner W. Crane, Sidney B. Fay, J. Franklin Jameson.

Committee on Publications: Leo F. Stock, 3737 Michigan Avenue, N.E., Washington, D. C.

Committee on the Carnegie Fund for Publications: Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., chairman; J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, James H. Robinson, Henry R. Shipman.

Committee on Historical Research in Colleges: E. Merton Coulter, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga., chairman; William E. Lunt, Bertha H. Putnam, Fred A. Shannon, Henry M. Wriston.

Committee on International Coöperation: Waldo G. Leland, 703 Insurance Building, Washington, D. C., chairman; Eloise Ellery, Sidney B. Fay, Carl R. Fish, J. Franklin Jameson, Charles Moore, Bernadotte E. Schmitt.

- Committee on History and Other Social Studies in the Schools:* August C. Krey, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., chairman; Frank W. Ballou, Charles A. Beard, Isaiah Bowman, Ada Comstock, George S. Counts, Edmund E. Day, Guy S. Ford, Evarts B. Greene, Ernest Horn, Henry Johnson, William E. Lingelbach, Leon C. Marshall, Charles E. Merriam, Jesse H. Newlon, Jesse F. Steiner.
- Conference of Historical Societies:* Albert R. Newsome, president; Christopher B. Coleman, 334 State House, Indianapolis, Ind., secretary.
- Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize:* Thomas M. Marshall, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., chairman; Kathleen Bruce, Allan Nevins, William S. Robertson, Wayne E. Stevens.
- Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize:* Frederic Duncalf, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, chairman; Vera L. Brown, Paul B. Jones, William L. Langer, Preserved Smith.
- Committee on George L. Beer Prize:* Albert H. Lybyer, 808 South Lincoln Ave., Urbana, Ill., chairman; Parker T. Moon, Franklin C. Palm, Thad W. Riker, Preston W. Slosson.
- Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize:* Walter L. Fleming, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., chairman; Ulrich B. Phillips, Earl G. Swem.
- Committee on the Jusserand Medal:* George C. Sellery, 2021 Van Hise Avenue, Madison, Wis., chairman; Eber M. Carroll, Charles D. Hazen.
- Committee on Membership:* Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., chairman; George G. Andrews, Julian P. Bretz, Dumas Malone, Laurence B. Packard.
- Committee on Endowment:* Ivy Lee, 4 East 66th Street, New York, N. Y., chairman; Harry J. Carman, Columbia University, New York, N. Y., executive secretary; Charles M. Andrews, James P. Baxter, 3d, Marshall S. Brown, Solon J. Buck, Harry A. Cushing, Guy S. Ford, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, Edward Krehbiel, H. Barrett Learned, Stewart L. Mims, Charles Moore, William A. Morris, Dana C. Munro, Conyers Read, Otto L. Schmidt, Henry M. Wriston.
- Committee on Nominations:* Laurence B. Packard, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass., chairman; Randolph G. Adams, E. Merton Coulter, Louise P. Kellogg, James F. Willard.
- Committee on the Programme for the Forty-fourth Annual Meeting:* William K. Boyd, Duke University, Durham, N. C., chairman; Viola F. Barnes, Arthur E. R. Boak, Walther I. Brandt, Frederick C. Dietz, Ralph J. Kerner, Charles R. Lingley; and (*ex officio*) Christopher B. Coleman, Dexter Perkins, Oscar C. Stine.
- Committee on Local Arrangements:* Robert L. Flowers, Duke University, Durham, N. C., chairman; Robert B. House, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., vice-chairman; William T. Laprade, Duke University, Durham, N. C., secretary.
- Delegates in the American Council of Learned Societies:* Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson.
- Delegates in the Social Science Research Council:* Guy S. Ford, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Arthur M. Schlesinger.

Representatives in the Committee for the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences: Carl Becker, Clarence H. Haring, Carlton J. H. Hayes.

Representatives for the Social Science Research Council's Journal of Abstracts: Sidney B. Fay, Joseph C. Green, William L. Langer.

Representatives in the International Committee of Historical Sciences: Waldo G. Leland, 703 Insurance Building, Washington, D. C.; Paul van Dyke, American University Union, 173 Boulevard Saint Germain, Paris VI., France.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT

By a tragic accident on January 7, 1928, John Spencer Bassett was suddenly removed from his family, his innumerable friends, and his devoted labors in behalf of history and of the American Historical Association.

Professor Bassett was graduated from Trinity College at Durham in 1888, and received his doctor's degree from Johns Hopkins in 1894. He returned at once to Trinity, and for twelve years enriched his Alma Mater by his inspiring teaching and his fruitful encouragement of historical scholarship, in which he led the way. At a time when the college library was small, he interested his students in preserving and bringing together rare books, newspapers, pamphlets, and manuscripts from the scattered communities of North Carolina. These formed the beginnings of a valuable collection of Southern Americana, some of which began to be published in 1897 in the *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society*. In 1902 he became the editor of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, which has continued ever since to make notable contributions to our knowledge of Southern history and social institutions.

In 1906 Professor Bassett went from Trinity to Smith College and became again, in new surroundings, a stimulating influence for historical study and research. To the thousands of young women who enjoyed his lectures on American history since the Civil War he will ever remain one of the most treasured memories of college life. His last class has showed its appreciation of him by establishing a library fund in his memory. His seminar attracted the best advanced students, and produced many excellent monographs which were published in the *Smith College Studies in History*. This was the first scholarly series of its kind at Smith, and it is characteristic of Professor Bassett's encouragement of research and publication that it was primarily owing to him that these studies were established. He founded one of the most delightful college clubs—the Old

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT

Letters Club, in which students read and discussed old letters which they rescued from ancestral garrets and which gave interesting and often amusing pictures of the social life of earlier generations in America.

Not only in the college did Professor Bassett make his influence deeply felt. No member of the faculty was more widely known or more universally beloved in the town of Northampton than he. His hospitable home was always open. On Sunday afternoons one was sure to find at his fireside a little group of students, faculty, and townspeople, enjoying good conversation and enlivened by his genial presence. As President Neilson has said of him: "As a citizen he was an extraordinary model of how a man can be in politics and keep pure and sweet; how a man can be in academic life and end keeping his mellowness."

Of his scholarly contributions to history it is unnecessary to speak here. You all know them well—from his masterly *Life of Andrew Jackson* and edition of Jackson's papers to his last work on *The League of Nations*.

But Professor Bassett did more than teach, encourage research, establish historical periodicals and societies, and write scholarly works of his own. He was a most kind, thoughtful, genial friend and wise counsellor, both to his students and his colleagues. One of the most pleasant things which one particularly looked forward to in coming to these Christmas meetings was a chat with him. For years he served this Association devotedly as its Secretary, in spite of the heavy extra burden which it entailed. No one was more active and enthusiastic than he in laboring to build up the Endowment Fund of the Association. Yet all this drudgery for promoting historical scholarship and the welfare of the American Historical Association he always did most cheerfully and unselfishly. To him the Association, with its annual meetings, owes much of its success in recent years. In fact, as one looks at the faces here to-day, it may be said also, *si monumentum requiris circumspice*.

THE PRESENT STATE OF STUDIES ON THE ENGLISH EXCHEQUER IN THE MIDDLE AGES¹

No layman who consults the first volume of M. S. Giuseppi's *Guide to the MSS. Preserved in the Public Record Office* (1923) can fail to be astonished at the immense drift of Medieval documents deposited by the English exchequer. Should he venture so far as to examine specimens of, let us say, the later Medieval Pipe or Memoranda Rolls, he will be still more amazed at their forbidding bulk and technicality. He will cease to suppose that English Medievalists are in any imminent danger of exhausting their manuscript sources, and he will no longer feel surprise that hitherto so comparatively little of this cornucopia has overflowed into print. To the scholar, on the other hand, the English exchequer, which can boast of what is probably the longest and most continuous departmental history in the world, offers an inexhaustibly attractive series of problems, while its virgin mounds of manuscript constitute at once a challenge and a reproach.

Yet relatively scanty as it is, modern knowledge of the Medieval exchequer, its records and processes, has long since passed beyond the limits of a single paper, and it will be impossible here to do much more than indicate very briefly what classes of material may now be found in print and, at rather greater length, refer at least to such of the more recent activities of exchequer specialists as may not yet have penetrated to the bibliographies of the more general historian.

It will save time and space in the first instance to treat as common knowledge the printed sources for this subject included by Mrs. Stenton in the bibliography to her recent chapter on Henry II. in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, volume V. Starting from that point it should be noticed that the Pipe Roll Society is steadily continuing publication of the Pipe Rolls of Richard I. and has now reached the year 1193.² The generosity of American subscribers has further enabled this society to publish the roll for 14 Henry III. (1230-

¹ Prepared for the Oslo Congress, but not read because of the absence of the author.

² Vol. I. of the new series (1925) contains an admirable introduction by Charles Johnson, succinctly describing the whole process of revenue collection, account, and enrollment as it stood in the last quarter of the twelfth century, and adding a brief, but necessary guide to the use of the printed Pipe Roll. A comparison with Miss Mills's equally able work (below) is instructive as to the changes which took place in the course of a century. (Volume for 1194 published since this was written.)

1231),³ which should be compared with the late Dr. Cannon's edition of the roll for 26 Henry III. (1241-1242), and with the important review of that edition by Mr. C. G. Crump in the *English Historical Review*, XXXV. 262-264. No other Pipe Roll subsequent to 1193 has been printed *in extenso*, though one of its official "duplicates",⁴ the Chancellor's Roll for 3 John, was printed by the Record Commission in 1833. County membranes of the Pipe Rolls, however, have been published in fair numbers by local archaeological and antiquarian societies. Of these incomparably the most important, by reason of her masterly introduction and complete and accurate text, is Miss Mills's edition of the Surrey membrane.⁵ The prefatory note to this edition refers to other recent publications of such membranes, many however in summary form, by similar societies, to the list of which may be added the William Salt Archaeological Society (for Staffordshire), the Somerset Record Society, the Leicestershire Archaeological Society, and the Derbyshire Archaeological Journal. All this activity, however, leaves virtually untouched the vast mass of Pipe Rolls⁶ from the end of the twelfth century onwards, in spite of the fact that until well after the close of the Middle Ages they remain one of the most important classes of financial and administrative record. The amount of repetition that they contain from year to year makes it unlikely that they will ever all be published in full, but it is to be hoped that the valuable matter embedded in them to the last may one day be made more accessible to students by a calendar on the lines suggested by Miss Mills in an interesting letter to *History*.⁷

Apart from the Pipe Rolls, there has been no attempt at the systematic publication of the records of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's department of the exchequer. The official card-index at the Public Record Office shows that a few extracts from the Rolls of Foreign Accounts have been printed here and there, and that other extracts from the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Memoranda,

³ Ed. C. Robinson, Princeton, 1927.

⁴ Or possibly "parallels". See Crump, *loc. cit.*, but *cf.*, Miss Mabel H. Mills's arguments in her introduction to the *Pipe Roll for 1295*, Surrey membrane, Surrey Record Soc., no. XXI. (1924), and Mr. Crump's review of that volume also, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XL. 604.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ Excluding the Norman Rolls, published by Stapledon in 1840-1844, to which we must now add certain "Miscellaneous Records of the Norman Exchequer, 1199-1204", published by Sidney R. Packard in *Smith College Studies in History*, vol. XII. (Northampton, Mass.). Jenkinson, in *Magna Carta Commemoration Essays* (1917), p. 262, has provided a key to the Norman Pipe Rolls respectively used and overlooked by, or unknown to, Stapledon.

⁷ XI. 141.

Miscellaneous and Originalia Rolls, are tolerably well distributed through many recent works on English Medieval history. But the sum total of these extracts, mostly very brief, is only a drop in the ocean by comparison with what is left untouched. The same is true of the King's Remembrancer's department, though in this case the fact that the documents concerned are frequently a stage further away from official condensation and enrollment, and by so much the fuller and more interesting, has admittedly produced a somewhat greater activity among editors. Thus King's Remembrancer's "Accounts, Various", mostly originals, have naturally proved much more popular than Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Enrolled Accounts, and examples may be found scattered through all the best-known periodicals and works of reference of the last fifty years. Besides these, bodies such as the Société Jersiaise have published some of them,⁸ while others are to be found so far afield as in *Diplomatarium Norwegicum*,⁹ *Archivio Storico Italiano*,¹⁰ the *Rôles Gascons*,¹¹ the *Ancestor*,¹² the *Genealogist*,¹³ and in such unexpected works as L. S. Knight's *Welsh Independent Grammar Schools to 1600*.¹⁴ The only guide which is at all near to being complete is, however, the Public Record Office index already mentioned.

There has also been some dabbling in the King's Remembrancer's Memoranda Rolls. Vernon Harcourt¹⁵ was perhaps the first modern to use them with effect, but Conway Davies¹⁶ and Tout¹⁷ have been preëminent in showing what important matter they can be made to yield.¹⁸ Unlike the Pipe Rolls, there is little or no repetition in these records, which are essentially notes of proceedings in the exchequer during the various stages of account. The insurmountable fact of their great bulk, however, coupled with the admission that there is much dross of merely routine or minor interest mingled

⁸ E.g., in *Bulletins Annuels*, III. 40.

⁹ E.g., vol. XIX.

¹⁰ Emilio Re, *Archivi Inglesi e Storia Italiana* (1913).

¹¹ *Doc. Inéd.*, vol. III.

¹² Vols. I.-II.

¹³ N.s., XVI. 136.

¹⁴ Newtown, 1926.

¹⁵ *His Grace the Steward*, 1907.

¹⁶ *Baronial Opposition to Edward II.*, 1918.

¹⁷ E.g., in *Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, vols. I.-IV. (1920-1928).

¹⁸ See esp., *ibid.*, III. 364-365 (Peasants' Revolt in London), and cf. IV. 435 n. 3. The notarial instruments of surrender of the Irish chiefs enrolled in K. R. M. R. 18 Ric., II., form the whole basis of E. Curtis's *Richard II. in Ireland, 1394-1395* (1927). Cf., Miss Mills's "Adventus Vicecomitum" in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI. 481-496, XXXVIII. 331, analyzed below, p. 498.

with the ore which they contain, makes it unlikely that the experiment of publication *in extenso*, once made by the Record Commissioners with an early roll,¹⁹ will ever be repeated. But here too skilled and careful calendaring might effect and reveal much.

The next important class of record in the King's Remembrancer department consists of the subsidy rolls. The subject with which they deal has been exhaustively studied for the reigns of the first three Edwards by Professor Willard,²⁰ and the rolls themselves, which are of considerable value to the genealogist and local historian, have proved favorites with county record societies. All the societies already mentioned as having published Pipe Roll membranes have also published subsidy rolls, and to them may be added the Record Office itself,²¹ the Devon and Cornwall Record Society,²² the Essex,²³ and the Bristol and Gloucestershire²⁴ archaeological societies, the Chetham Society,²⁵ and the Hampshire²⁶ and Sussex²⁷ record societies. In addition we have, besides so excellent a study as Professor Lunt's *Valuation of Norwich*,²⁸ Dr. W. M. Palmer's *Cambridgeshire Subsidy Rolls*,²⁹ Irene J. Churchill's *Kent Records* (1914), and the *Staffordshire Historical Collections*,³⁰ not to mention older instances in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,³¹ the *Ancestor*,³² and the *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society.³³ The subsidy rolls consist almost exclusively of lists of names and payments—the information they yield has been conclusively summarized from

¹⁹ I owe this information to Mr. C. H. Jenkinson who was, however, temporarily unable to procure me a copy for inspection, as very few were printed and they are extremely scarce. Transcripts of the two Memoranda Rolls of John and a calendar of some of the early rolls of Henry III. are, however, available in typescript on the shelves of the Literary Search Room at the P.R.O., and a considerable portion of the first K. R. M. R. was printed in the *Proceedings* of the Record Commission, along with some other specimens of exchequer records, in 1833.

²⁰ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 517, XXIX. 317, XXX. 69.

²¹ In *Feudal Aids*. Add the *Nonarum Inquisitiones*, published by the Record Commission.

²² *E.g.*, vol. for 1910.

²³ *Trans.*, n.s., vol. XIX., pt. I.

²⁴ *E.g.*, vols. XVIII.–XIX.

²⁵ *E.g.*, vol. XXV.

²⁶ *E.g.*, vol. I. (1891).

²⁷ *E.g.*, vol. X. (1910).

²⁸ Concerned with clerical subsidies only (1926).

²⁹ Norwich, 1912.

³⁰ *E.g.*, for 1925.

³¹ Vol. XI. (1839).

³² VII. 262.

³³ Sec. ser., vol. VIII. (1894).

a national point of view by Willard,³⁴ while from that of the local historian they may be held to have received and to be receiving as much attention and publication as they deserve. In this they are probably unique among exchequer records.

Turning to the Exchequer of Receipt we find a more familiar condition of affairs. The archive history of this department has been well sketched by Jenkinson,³⁵ who is himself responsible for unravelling much of the confusion which has prevailed there in the past. The Receipt Rolls themselves are emphatically not worth *verbatim* publication, once their early experimental stage, in which the form is perhaps more interesting than the content,³⁶ is over. This is not to say that they do not contain much valuable information, but merely that the principles upon which they were compiled are extremely misleading to the modern mind and, moreover, render them almost impossible to calendar. They can in short only be made available by a somewhat arbitrary process of selection, or by statistical methods³⁷ which have their own difficulties and dangers. The essential points to realize are that very many of the entries are of a bookkeeping character, and that much revenue never found its way into the Receipt Rolls at all.

There is a close relation between Receipt and Issue Rolls,³⁸ and much, if not all, of what has been said of the former applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the latter class as well. The Issue Rolls are perhaps rather more in the public eye than the Receipt Rolls, owing to F. Devon's well-known translation into English (1835) of the so-called *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*,³⁹ which contains many pic-

³⁴ In the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 517, XXIX. 317, XXX. 69. Cf. his *Surrey Taxation Returns, 1290-1332*, Surrey Record Society, no. XVIII.

³⁵ *Manual of Archive Administration* (1922), app. V., pp. 206-223.

³⁶ See *Receipt Roll for Mich. 1185*, ed. Hall (1899), and the fragment printed (with facsimile) by Charles Johnson in *Publications* of the Pipe Roll Society (n.s.), vol. I. (1925). Jenkinson prints a list of the early Receipt Rolls of the exchequer (Hen. II. to Hen. III.) in *Archaeologia*, LXXIV, 326-328.

³⁷ See my articles in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII. 172-180, and *Cambridge Historical Journal*, II. 178, for an attempt to invent and apply methods of this kind to the form rather than the content of the Receipt Rolls of 1349-1399. I have in preparation a similar study of general Receipt Roll marginalia covering the same period. Sir James Ramsay's elaborate calculations unfortunately take the Receipt Roll totals at face value and can not be accepted.

³⁸ Tout, *op. cit.*, IV. 321 n.—an important note on the difficulty of interpreting the entries in either series unless they are used to supplement each other.

³⁹ It is not generally realized that the second of the two rolls used by Devon was not that of Brantingham (the treasurer), but belonged to one of the chamberlains, although it is a matter of more common knowledge that this roll really begins in 1369 and should come before the other one, since (a fact first discovered by Ramsay in 1880) the so-called "Exchequer year" of Edward III. begins at

turesque items, and has been freely quoted by historians. Devon also published two volumes of selections from Medieval and early seventeenth-century Issue Rolls, but there is no indication that he followed any principles other than those of popular interest, or really understood those on which such rolls were compiled. The Issue Rolls are, however, used to excellent advantage by Tout in his *Administrative History*.⁴⁰ Whether they can ever be summarized, even by some statistical method, in any useful or intelligible form for the benefit of future students is extremely doubtful: they are, however, of dwindling importance in the fifteenth century, their function being so well fulfilled by an extra column⁴¹ in the Receipt Rolls that they apparently cease entirely in the reign of Edward IV.

We must now turn to the last great class of exchequer records, namely the exchequer Plea Roll, or "record of a common law jurisdiction in the King's Remembrancer's department of the Exchequer". Jenkinson thinks that this roll "was probably in origin no more than a section split off the Memoranda Roll".⁴² It is in independent existence at the present day from at least 43-44 Henry III. (the earliest certain example in the Record Office), and selections from the more important pleadings and enrollments are to be found at the office in separate alphabetical and chronological calendars, starting in each case from 1293. There is, moreover, a volume of select pleas in preparation for the Selden Society, while many of the Jewish 'Plea' Rolls have been separately published by the Jewish Historical Society of England.⁴³

Michaelmas in the middle of his regnal year, and Michaelmas precedes Easter in exchequer reckoning.

⁴⁰ Especially IV. 93 and 315. Our detailed knowledge of the "continual council" in the early years of Richard II. depends almost entirely on this series.

⁴¹ This column gradually comes into existence on the right-hand margin after 1349, and is practically perfect by the end of the century.

⁴² *Manual*, pp. 29, 90 n. Mr. Jenkinson tells me there is an intermediate period during which record of the proceedings is distributed rather loosely between the Memoranda Rolls and the Plea Rolls. See the forthcoming volume of the Selden Society (below).

⁴³ *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, vols. I.-II., 1218-1275, ed. J. M. Rigg (1905 and 1910 respectively). A third volume is in preparation. Vol. XV. of the publications of the Selden Society (*Select Pleas, Starrs, and Other Records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, 1220-1284*) was also edited by Rigg, and is alternatively reckoned as a special volume of the publications of the Jewish Historical Society for 1902. Cf., Jenkinson's list of the special Jewish Receipt Rolls in chronological order in *Transactions* of the same society, VIII. 32-37. Mr. Jenkinson tells me that the lists of the Jewish *Donum* promised at Northampton in 1194 have quite recently been published in full among the *Miscellanies* of this very active body, pt. I., 1925. They were first printed in summary form in Jacobs's *Jews of Angevin England* (1893), pp. 162-164.

This rough enumeration completes the list of the principal exchequer records to be found in print, beyond those mentioned in the bibliography from which we started. It should be remembered, first, that there is now an up-to-date enumeration available in the card-index growing slowly at the Public Record Office, and, secondly, that when all is said and done only an insignificant fraction of these records has ever been published at all. It may be true that large numbers of them are unsuitable for full-length publication, but Pipe Rolls at least, and probably Memoranda Rolls, could be calendared, and until this is done there can be little finality about many such studies on the English exchequer in the Middle Ages as those to which we must now turn.⁴⁴

It is proposed once again, for the sake of brevity, to omit all consideration of such classical studies as those of Dr. Poole and the late Dr. Round, whose recent death is among the heaviest blows suffered by English scholarship for some years. Nor is it necessary to do more than mention either Liebermann's *Einleitung in den Dialogus*, the 1902 edition of that unique document, the Rolls Series *Red Book of the Exchequer*, G. J. Turner's "Sheriff's Farm",⁴⁵ or any but the most recent work of Tout. It will also be necessary to pass over the contributions of Mitchell,⁴⁶ of Conway Davies,⁴⁷ and of Haskins,⁴⁸ and all for the same cause, *viz.*, the not unreasonable assumption that their works are easily accessible and well known to the general historian. Such grave omissions are the more excusable for the recent appearance of Lefebvre's concise résumé of modern work on the exchequer down to 1925.⁴⁹

Until quite recently it was assumed that the history of the exchequer in the twelfth century had been written, by Poole and others, for good and all. The surviving records are comparatively scanty for this period and nearly all in print; there are grave outstanding problems, it is true, but it did not seem that we should come much nearer to solving them than he had already done. G. H. White⁵⁰ and

⁴⁴ Thus the later Pipe Rolls, though at present little understood, apparently act as a sort of index to all the principal exchequer records, besides being compact largely of "cross references from membrane to membrane and accountant to accountant". Jenkinson, *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of London*, sec. ser., XXV. 29-39.

⁴⁵ *Transactions Royal Hist. Soc.*, vol. XII. (1898).

⁴⁶ *Studies in Taxation* (1914).

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*

⁴⁸ *Norman Institutions* (1918).

⁴⁹ *Édition Française* of Stubbs (Paris, 1927), III. 732-742.

⁵⁰ "Financial Administration under Henry I.", *Transactions Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., vol. VIII. (1925).

H. G. Richardson⁵¹ have shown us our mistake. The title of White's paper is rather misleading; it is largely genealogical in character, and is concerned far more with men than institutions. He seems, however, to have established a strong presumption against Tout⁵² that two chamberlainships specifically associated with the Treasury, and antecedent to the later chamberlainships of the exchequer, do date back to Henry I.'s reign, and that the "single, dignified Treasurer" postulated by Tout for the close of that reign fills the need felt by the king for "a responsible head of his finances who could be with him at court, or employed elsewhere on royal business", whilst the actual work of the Treasury was done by the chamberlains in question. This leads him, however, to a somewhat paradoxical conclusion, in which he is at odds with all other modern authorities, *viz.*, that, owing to the creation of a separate treasurer, the treasury of Henry I. is no longer to be included in the household. Yet this treasurer is mentioned in the *Constitutio Domus Regis* and is, as we have seen, retained about the court, or sent on royal missions, by the king!

Apart from this, Mr. White has done good service in disentangling the careers and relationships, whether in the service of the Treasury, the Chamber, or an obscure third body, the *Camera Curie*, which he would have us distinguish from the Chamber, of the later Geoffrey de Clinton, of the various Mauduits, and of "that hardened pluralist", William de Pont de l'Arche.

Richardson, like White, and possibly with rather better reason, is not afraid of tilting against established reputations. His notes on the "Exchequer year"⁵³ convict such great names as those of Stubbs, and even Round, among the dead, and Poole and Lyte among the living, of assuming the existence of a special "Exchequer year" in some esoteric sense different from all other years, and even of the further crime of retrospective dating by this hypothetical unit.⁵⁴ Richardson has shown quite conclusively that the supposed existence of a special exchequer chronology is a myth; the exchequer simply used the ordinary regnal year for dating purposes, only the Pipe Rolls naturally look back over the whole year of account, while the later Receipt and Issue Rolls are made up day by day. This practice, though adding to the snares set for the historian in such years as 1307, 1483, and 1485, kills the theory of the "Exchequer year" for

⁵¹ "The Exchequer Year", in *ibid.*, vols. VIII.-IX. (1925-1926), "Richard fitz Neal and the Dialogus de Scaccario", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII. 161-171, 321-340.

⁵² *Op. cit.*, I. 86.

⁵³ *Loc. cit.*

⁵⁴ *Cf.*, Devon's mistake, above, note 39.

good and all, since in 1307, for example, the two separate departments of the exchequer actually referred their Michaelmas rolls to different regnal years, *viz.*, 35 Edward I. (Pipe Roll) and 1 Edward II. (Receipt and Issue Rolls), respectively. The difficulty is increased by certain changes in the Pipe Roll rule made in each of the three years mentioned; these are, however, satisfactorily explained by Richardson, whose notes constitute a complete guide to the subject. His conclusion is that if the "Exchequer year" means anything at all, it must mean the period between one Michaelmas and the next, and might better be called the "Exchequer period of account".

The solution of this muddle by no means exhausts our debt to Richardson. His studies of "Richard fitz Neal and the *Dialogus de Scaccario*", the whole of which he was kind enough to show me in proof, correct the accepted view of fitz Neal's acquisition of his treasurership,⁵⁵ and discourage the theory that he had "any marked force of character". He was not a great churchman, nor yet a great politician, but neither more nor less than a sufficiently able, if pedantic,⁵⁶ civil servant; the *Dialogus*, in short, is "the only lasting monument to his memory". Richardson follows up this point by a new and extremely interesting criticism of the *Dialogus*, based upon the printed Pipe Rolls and designed to show that it was not finished, as is commonly supposed, by 1179, but that our best existing text⁵⁷ represents an incomplete revision of an earlier manuscript attempted by the author himself in the late 'eighties. It is impossible to trace here all the steps by which Richardson arrives at this important conclusion, but it may be enough to say, not only that they are wholly convincing, but also that they establish on the way certain points subsidiary to the main problem, but possibly of even greater value. Among these may be mentioned a discussion of the eyre system under Henry II., proving clearly that there were no fixed circuits at any time during the reign, and that the years 1176 and 1179 have been quite arbitrarily and unduly stressed by the chroniclers.⁵⁸ There is also an important section on the law of usury in the twelfth century, which makes one more impatient than ever that Richardson's larger studies on this subject should be given to the world. In connection

⁵⁵ Already challenged, but not emended, in *Camb. Med. Hist.*, V. 573.

⁵⁶ *E.g.*, in his affection for the "arid and inaccurate" Pipe Roll formula *in perdonis per breve Regis*, Richardson, *loc. cit.*, sect. 3.

⁵⁷ The 1902 edition.

⁵⁸ Almost all Richardson's evidence is drawn from the printed Pipe Rolls, and it is both gratifying to find that exchequer records, once they are easily accessible, can be made with skill and patience to yield such important results, and rather depressing to remember that nobody has attempted to use them in this way before.

with it should be noted that Jenkinson has recently added several new documents to his well-known article on William Cade,⁵⁹ a Christian usurer of this period.

The transition from Christian usurers to usurers of another faith is an easy one, and it is with the reign of Richard I. in any case that we enter most appropriately on the difficult subject of the Jews in England and their relations to the English exchequer up to the expulsion in 1290. Here the standard guide is once more Jenkinson,⁶⁰ who has dealt as faithfully with the so-called "Exchequer of the Jews" as Richardson has done with the "Exchequer year" and, it may be added, with much the same result. It is admitted that Jewish items are entered on separate Receipt Rolls from 1193-1194, but the simple assertion of Gross and of Jacobs⁶¹ that about the same time a separate piece of mechanism was set up under the name of the Jewish exchequer to deal with all Jewish affairs requires much qualification. It is true that special officials were appointed in the time of Richard I. to control the *archae*, or chests in which the Jews were now obliged to deposit all their bonds, but the special body constituted by these officials always remained a part of the exchequer, merely taking over, just as the "Exchequer of Pleas" did, some of the business previously done by the general staff of the exchequer and recorded in the general Memoranda Rolls. The absence of any hard and fast distinction is shown by the fact that memoranda continue to occur in large numbers on the so-called "Plea Roll of the Jews", while Jewish business continues to figure in the general Memoranda Roll, long after the separate rolls have been started. It should be noticed too that the *Scaccarium Judeorum* never touched at all the recording of the actual receipts of cash from which arose the Jewish Receipt Rolls. These, though separate, remained entirely under the control of the ordinary officials of the Receipt.

Apart from this, non-talliage payments from Jews almost certainly appear on both the ordinary Receipt Rolls and the Pipe Rolls but in a disguised form, *viz.*, usually under the head *de debitis diversorum*.⁶² This discovery of Jenkinson's not only clinches his argu-

⁵⁹ In conjunction with Miss M. T. Stead, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 209. Cf. additions by Round, *ibid.*, 522, and Haskins, *ibid.*, 730. For the new material, see *Essays in History Presented to R. L. Poole* (1927), pp. 190-210.

⁶⁰ *Trans. of the Jewish Hist. Soc. of England*, VIII. 19-54. C. Gross was the first to call attention to the subject in his paper read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887, no. 6, "The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages". Cf. another article of his in the *Law Quarterly Review*, vol. XXV.

⁶¹ *Jews of Angevin England*.

⁶² Only the chance survival of two "particulars of accounts", belonging to a sheriff of 12-13 Edward I., enabled Jenkinson to make this important discovery.

ment but helps to explain the point made by Jacobs for the rival theory, *viz.*, the undisputed fact that frankly Jewish entries in the Pipe Rolls do fall off in number after Richard I. The reason is to be found, however, in the suicidal increase of the severity with which the Jews were squeezed by the government with the help of the new *archae* system in and after this reign, and by the later multiplication of Jewish entries in the ordinary records of the crown under the deceptive *de debitis diversorum* head; not in the creation of a hypothetical "Exchequer of the Jews", most of whose records must be assumed to have mysteriously vanished!

We now enter upon the troubled reign of John, and once more it is Jenkinson who leads the way.⁶³ His paper is remarkable, not only for its comprehensive survey of the existing record evidence, both for Normandy and England, but for the conclusion at which it arrives. The reign is apparently one of administrative confusion, caused by a rapid expansion, itself due as much to the full development of the new forms of action and other new sources of revenue devised by Henry II. as to the notorious rapacity of the new king. This initial confusion is, however, so speedily and systematically attacked that the first years of the thirteenth century witness a remarkable growth in the organizing activities of the exchequer. This is illustrated not only by the great development of what are already in essence the Memoranda Rolls, but also by such brilliant inventions as that of the *tallia dividenda*⁶⁴ in 1206-1207, which has been plausibly associated with the rise of Peter de Rivaux. In this theory there may or may not be an answer to the provocative sentences with which Jenkinson closes his paper. "Behind all the administrative confusion of the reign . . . we seem to see working a single very powerful administrative brain. Was that brain King John's?"

In mentioning the *tallia dividenda* we have been trenching on the able paper in which Miss Mills takes up Jenkinson's work and carries it from 1200 to 1232. But before we come to deal at large with the century whose exchequer history Miss Mills has made her own it should be remembered that we are already indebted to Packard⁶⁵ for some recent work on the period 1199-1204. He has printed for the first time several fragmentary records of the Norman exchequer in its last years, in the hope that from these documents, though on his

⁶³ "Financial Records of the Reign of John" in *Magna Carta Commemoration Essays* (Royal Hist. Soc., 1917).

⁶⁴ Explained by Miss Mills, "Experiments in Exchequer Procedure", in *Transactions*, Royal Hist. Soc., 4th ser., VIII. 151-170. For the reference to de Rivaux see below, p. 497.

⁶⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 3 n. 1.

own admission they are of little importance for Normandy, and though "Norman evidence, to be sure, can prove little for England", conclusions of great importance for England may none the less be drawn. Packard himself has hardly attempted to perform this feat of legerdemain, but has confined himself to a reiterated refusal to believe that any good thing, even administrative ability, could come out of the reign of John. However, Packard's reluctance to accept Jenkinson's inferences is unsupported by any shadow of argument, while his rather ungracious accusation of "jumping to conclusions" does not come well from one who almost in the same breath asserts that his documents display exchequer processes of John's reign "which we cannot prove for the earlier period though we may infer them with confidence"!

With Miss Mills we return to the world of scholarship. Her "Experiments in Exchequer Procedure, 1200-1232",⁶⁶ and her still more remarkable "Reforms at the Exchequer, 1232-1242",⁶⁷ have between them revolutionized our knowledge of administrative history in the first half of the thirteenth century. The first of these two papers shows how the exchequer had met the crisis of Henry II.'s death by the invention of new forms of procedure and had passed through an experimental stage under John and during the minority of Henry III. The problem at the time was first and foremost one of congestion, both on the Pipe Roll, and at the Receipt of the Exchequer, owing to the innumerable tallies now required by the sheriffs as the result of Henry II.'s reforms. By 1217 the problem had been solved by the use of a new type of grouped entry on the Roll and by the steady use (since 1207) of the single *tallia dividenda* for the sheriff. More and more debts were left on the Originalia and Estreat Rolls, the Pipe Roll merely containing a short grouped entry in the sheriff's name, while it is also about this time that debts begin to be regularly classified, even on the Estreat Rolls, into t (paid up), p (partially paid), and d (desperate). About Michaelmas, 1223, however, a reaction in favor of individual entries and separate tallies on the old lines set in, and lasted for a full five years. This reaction is associated with Hubert de Burgh, who appears in the new light of an unintelligent "diehard", and its effects are not limited to the summonses. Thus caput 25 of Magna Carta, prohibiting the taking of increment on the farms of the shires, a clause which had been allowed to lapse in the earlier reissues, is now strictly enforced, and the profits fall at once to £220, as against £2500 just before 1215.

⁶⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁷ *Transactions Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., vol. X. (1927).

This period of reaction ended, however, in 1228 with the reintroduction of the new grouped entry, while after 1232 enquiries were held into the value of the county profits. The resultant reorganization of the shire accounts (1236-1242) formed the basis for their collection until the middle of the fourteenth century, and constitute the first permanent divergence from the rules laid down in the *Dialogus*. This enquiry and reorganization form the subject of Miss Mills's second paper.

Preparations for the *coup d'état* may be traced back to 1227, but the decisive steps were taken in the summer of 1232, when Peter des Roches's nephew, Peter de Rivaux, received first the custody of the wardrobe, the chamber, and the treasury of the king's household, and then the shrievalty of 21 shires. Miss Mills has shown, however, that de Rivaux hardly attempted to act at all in person, but was "really a chief commissioner appointed to enquire into the state of local finances". The result of the enquiry was postponed two years by the baronial reaction of 1234,⁶⁸ but in the spring of 1236 the Poitevins return, and though de Rivaux now remains in the background, the sweeping change of sheriffs and the fundamental reforms which follow must undoubtedly be attributed to him.⁶⁹ The most striking of these reforms is the removal of ancient demesne from the sheriff *en bloc* for good and all, a deliberate and apparently successful attempt to strike an average for the profits of all the shires in England, and finally in 1241 the fixing of the sheriff's farm at the old figure, coupled with the actual raising of his profits, in spite of the fact that he had now only the issues of the shire and hundred courts, and payments like view of frankpledge, sheriff's aid, and similar customary rents from which to recoup himself. The result is a radical alteration in the position of the sheriff,⁷⁰ who now became "rather a collector of debts due to the crown than a land agent for the king's private estate". The fact that such drastic action was possible explains why shrievalties prior to 1236 had fetched so high a figure, and why after that date men had to be constrained to become sheriffs and demanded, and received, special allowances. Miss Mills concludes

⁶⁸ Caused by *quo warranto* enquiries almost certainly connected with the proposed reform. Miss Cam's article in *History*, XI. 143-148, confirms the implication that *quo warranto* enquiries had been attempted on a large scale long before Edward I.

⁶⁹ Tout (*op. cit.*, I. 216-218, 220-221) apparently suspected something of the kind, but it is Miss Mills's evidence which is really overwhelming.

⁷⁰ It is a pity that Morris's exhaustive *Medieval English Sheriff to 1300* (1927) appeared just too soon for him to be able to avail himself of Miss Mills's researches. See Miss Cam's review in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII. 99.

by pointing out that no further reforms of such importance were executed at the exchequer from this time to that of Bishop Stapledon, nor had they previously been equalled, except by Henry II.

In spite, however, of the great access of revenue which the crown must have obtained by these measures, the finances of the kingdom took a steadily downward trend, and Miss Mills's next article⁷¹ demonstrates the amount of light which can be thrown by the analytical use of the Memoranda Rolls upon the troubled period of the Barons' Wars.

Thus whereas in the years 1243-1258 all sheriffs attended regularly, both at the Exchequer of Receipt and at the Upper Exchequer, seldom missing more than two attendances, hardly any sheriffs attended regularly, and many did not attend at all during the period 1258-1263, while even after that the recovery in the number of attendances down to 1272 is very slow. The amounts paid into the exchequer by the sheriffs tell exactly the same story—a most remarkable drop after 1258 for five years, and then a slow recovery, the arrears of bad debts accumulated during the Barons' Wars proving an overwhelming burden to the exchequer⁷² right down into the fourteenth century. The effect of the study as a whole is to emphasize greatly the amount of administrative dislocation in the years 1258-1263: the Barons' Wars were in short much more serious than used to be supposed. This is confirmed by E. F. Jacob who, using totally different material, supplemented, it is true, by statistics of Miss Mills's, comes to precisely the same conclusion.⁷³

Miss Mills's second article⁷⁴ under the same title covers the whole reign of Edward I. and is more technical in character. She points out that, except for Tout's analysis of exchequer relations with the wardrobe, the exchequer history of this reign is practically untouched, though the records are now beginning to be exceedingly abundant. Madox⁷⁵ uses little but the Memoranda Rolls, whereas a comparative study of Pipe, Receipt, and Memoranda Rolls at the least is required. This Miss Mills proceeds to give us. Her main conclu-

⁷¹ "Adventus Vicecomitum, 1258-1272", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI. 481.

⁷² Tout (*op. cit.*, I. 297) had already pointed out that there was no treasurer of the exchequer and no resident baron between July and November, 1263. Even seven years later it is clear that there was a considerable financial stringency—cf. a document printed by L. Ehrlich in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI. 553 ("Exchequer and Wardrobe in 1270"), which states on the authority of treasurer and chamberlains that "since the king's departure" the receipts have amounted to a single penny (or "not a penny"—the difference is hardly material!).

⁷³ *Studies in the Period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion*, 1925.

⁷⁴ "Adventus Vicecomitum, 1272-1307", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII. 331.

⁷⁵ *History of the Exchequer* (2d ed., 1769).

sions are that, though the sheriff's process of account became much more complex in this reign than Madox's theoretical description would lead one to suppose,⁷⁶ nothing really abnormal occurs before Michaelmas, 1298. Her tables show, however, that after that date there was a simultaneous and sharp decline both in the number and the value of the payments made at their 'profers' by the sheriffs, although they continue to attend regularly for the purpose at the exchequer. This continued attendance, which is also the case with attendances for audit up to 1307, seems to prove that the profer-lapse from 1298 much more probably indicates a change in the method of payment than a failure to collect and pay in the customary revenue. This hypothesis is confirmed by Miss Mills's examination of the *facta summa* entries in the Memoranda Rolls during the "final view" of the sheriff's account. These entries show that as much revenue as ever is being collected, but that it is being largely spent locally and in advance and, above all, in connection with the wardrobe, so that the accounts are taking much longer to clear at the exchequer, owing to the greater difficulty of proving allowances than of proving payments. The whole enquiry in fact throws an important light on the general development of the process called assignment, which is perhaps the central feature of exchequer technique during the later Middle Ages.

To understand assignment it is advisable to understand the tally. Here again our principal guide is Jenkinson.⁷⁷ The tally as a simple form of receipt for illiterate persons is older than the exchequer itself,⁷⁸ but it is not until it begins to be used for issue purposes that it becomes really interesting. This practice is certainly as old as 16 Edward I.,⁷⁹ but Jenkinson quotes a convenient example from 35 Edward I., when the king's butler was given a tally of receipt made out in the name of the citizens of London, who owed a large sum on account of aids and were instructed by a special explanatory writ to

⁷⁶ Two 'profers', instead of one, become normal, and there is now a fourth stage in the account after the view and sum, *viz.*, the final view, in which the sheriff obtained his allowances and made final payments on the account.

⁷⁷ *Proceedings Soc. Ant.*, 2d ser., XXV. 29-39, and XXVI. 36-40. Also two articles in *Archaeologia*, LXII. 367-380 and LXXIV. 289-351, to the second of which are added *inter alia* several plates of tallies, a list of exchequer tallies preserved at the P. R. O., and a tabular transcript and analysis of all private tallies, down to Henry VIII., known to be preserved in the P. R. O. or elsewhere. Cf. Willard's "An Early Exchequer Tally" in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. VII., no. 2 (1923).

⁷⁸ *Dialogus, ad init.*—"quod autem hodie dicitur ad scaccarium, olim dicebatur ad taleas".

⁷⁹ Tallies were first ordered to be dated, an important consideration, in 19 Edward I. Willard, "Early Exchequer Tally", *loc. cit.*, p. 5 n.

cash his tally. "About 1320 or very soon after" the practice was fully established, *pro* tallies, as tallies used in this way were coming to be called, even being transferable from one firm or person to another.⁸⁰ It has been pointed out⁸¹ that this practice, together with the parallel one of issuing wardrobe debentures, was tantamount to inflating the currency. It led at once to the forging of debentures⁸² and tallies, a pursuit which now became profitable, to formal provision at the exchequer for the loss of tallies and to important discussions, recorded in the later Year Books of Edward I., about the legal value and admissibility of the tally. It should be noticed, first, that what is new is the use of an ordinary tally of *receipt* for issue—it seems probable that what is known as the tally *contra*, a sort of check payable to bearer, had been in at any rate occasional use long before the reign of Edward I.⁸³ Secondly, it must be borne in mind that the process of assignment by *writ* is as old as Cade. Whatever the methods used the great development of the practice which took place in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries ultimately reduced the exchequer to a sort of a clearing-house in which little or no cash was received at all, almost every item of revenue being assigned in advance to the king's creditors by the issue of negotiable tallies of receipt and other instruments. The tendency, however, is not invariable; thus considerable sums were frequently received in cash at the exchequer as late as the reign of Richard II., and there appears to have been less assignment on the whole at that time than in the war years of Edward III.;⁸⁴ it would seem again to be the renewal of the Hundred Years' War⁸⁵ which tipped the scale under the Lancastrians.

However, we are anticipating. Before we leave this subject, it

⁸⁰ Jenkinson, "Exchequer Tallies" in *Archaeologia*, LXII. 367-380.

⁸¹ E.g., Tout, *op. cit.*, II. 99-101. The whole of this passage is of great value for this subject.

⁸² I hope to publish an example of a forged debenture shortly in the *English Historical Review*. For an attempt to forge a tally see Jenkinson, "Exchequer Tallies", *loc. cit.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*, supplemented by *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, sec. ser., vol. XXV.

⁸⁴ See my article, "Practice of Assignment in the Later Fourteenth Century", in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII. 172-180.

⁸⁵ Willard has shown conclusively (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLII. 12) that the reverse is true of a slightly earlier period: thus 1327-1328, when the kingdom was at peace, was a year of assignment, and 1332-1333, when Edward was fighting the Scots, is a year of predominantly cash transactions. But the unprecedented demands of the Hundred Years' War turned most things upside down; cf. Tout, *op. cit.*, vol. III., *passim*. Moreover, Willard himself in his "Early Exchequer Tally", *loc. cit.*, says that in connection with the taxes on movables "there was a rather steady progress from large cash payments at the exchequer to an assignment basis during the reigns of the three Edwards".

should be noticed that tallies were frequently dishonored, and that it is above all the bookkeeping devices by which the clerks tried to prevent an undue amount of alteration in the Receipt and Issue Rolls which help to make those records so treacherous to the unwary historian.⁸⁶

No mention of assignment would be complete without some further reference to the wardrobe, with whose increased activity under Edward I. its great development should be associated. The first two volumes of Tout's *Chapters in Administrative History* have long been in the hands of every student of the subject, but much new light has since been thrown upon this institution, particularly in its relations with the exchequer, by Charles Johnson in his "System of Account in the Wardrobe of Edward I."⁸⁷ He makes it clear, for instance, not only that balances due to wardrobe accountants were usually assigned upon some branch of the royal revenues, but also that the wardrobe in action normally paid for its requirements by debentures ultimately cashable at the exchequer.⁸⁸ It is interesting to note that these wardrobe debentures were negotiable instruments, and could be assigned by their holders to other persons for cash.⁸⁹ On their presentation at the exchequer they were debited successively upon a writ of *liberate* for a large amount (*e.g.*, £10,000 or more) in favor of the wardrobe, until the total was reached, when a new writ had to be obtained. The Issue Rolls show these successive payments, totalling up to one big writ, and they are regularly copied out on to a separate roll, called the *Onus Garderobe*, and entered on the receipt side of the wardrobe book as well.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ For a general treatment of this topic see my article, "Some Aspects of English Finance in the Fourteenth Century", *History*, XII. 298, and Miss Broome's criticisms thereon, XIII. 135. Some of the "bookkeeping devices" are explained there and, more fully, by Jenkinson, *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, sec. ser., vol. XXV., and Willard, "Early Exchequer Tally", *loc. cit.*

⁸⁷ *Transactions Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser., vol. VI. (1923). Two ancient publications of the Soc. Ant. Lond. are of interest in this connection, *viz.*, the *Liber Quotidianus contrarotulatoris Garderobae Anno Regni Regis Edwardi Primi Vicesimo Octavo* (1787), and *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Royal Household* (1790). A wardrobe account of 16-17 Richard II., 1393-1394, has been printed by W. P. Baildon in *Archaeologia*, LXII. 497-514.

⁸⁸ See also Jenkinson, in *Archaeologia*, LXXIV. 305, and Tout, *op. cit.*, II. 125-126, for this process.

⁸⁹ I hope to publish shortly two examples kindly furnished to me by J. H. Johnson and Richardson, one from the reign of Edward II. and the other from that of Edward III. Cf. the later cashing or discounting warrants for issue in favor of foreign servants and messengers with which Helming Leget (receiver of the chamber, 1362-1375) was specially concerned (Tout, *op. cit.*, IV. 317). The same was almost certainly done with tallies as well.

⁹⁰ It must not be supposed that this was the sole source of wardrobe revenue, a very large proportion of which never passed through the exchequer at all until

We must now turn to the work of Willard who, as is well known, has especially associated himself with an exhaustive study of the taxes on movables round and about the period which we have reached. His early paper on "The English Church and the Lay Taxes of the Fourteenth Century"⁹¹ forms a brief but interesting supplement to the elaborate researches of Lunt,⁹² in which the genesis and evolution of that essentially clerical device, the taxation of movables, is expounded once and for all. Lunt's scholarly treatise—his introduction to the valuation he prints is nothing less—naturally concerns itself almost exclusively with clerical taxation, though he throws a good deal of light en route upon the adoption of the principle for laymen by the lay power. He stops short at the taxation of Nicholas IV. in 1291–1292, but it is just at this point that Willard begins. He shows that this famous valuation included all the revenues of the English church, spiritual and temporal alike, and was accepted by the English crown as a fixed sum⁹³ down to the end of the Middle Ages. But the question of church lands acquired after 1291 remained, and Willard shows that it was settled almost immediately by the taxation of such lands as if they were lay property, under a special direction to the collectors of the lay subsidies, during the reigns of the first two Edwards and in and after that of Richard II. He shows furthermore that the practice was maintained, though without the directing clause, during Edward III.'s reign; in view of it the protests of Wyclif and his sect against the "possessioners" seem to be rather beside the mark.

Turning to the lay subsidies, we find that Willard has amplified his analysis of their yield⁹⁴ in various scattered articles. In 1913 he published his "Sidelights upon the Assessment and Collection of the Medieval Subsidies",⁹⁵ in 1917 he gave us a further paper on their assessment in the period 1290–1332,⁹⁶ and in 1925 he explained at well on in the reign of Edward III. This proportion was known as the "foreign receipt" of the wardrobe; for its fluctuations see *ibid.*, vols. II.–IV., *passim*. J. H. Johnson, who has supplemented Charles Johnson's study with a similar one on the wardrobe of Edward II., the results of which he was kind enough to show me in manuscript, points out that the distinction was in fact largely illusory during the early fourteenth century, but it remains a real one, though the boundaries are not easy to determine. I understand that this valuable piece of work will shortly appear in print; it contains many other points of exchequer interest, notably in the matter of loans, *prestita*, or cash advances, and the reforms of 1323–1324.

⁹¹ University of Colorado Studies, June, 1907.

⁹² *Valuation of Norwich* (1926).

⁹³ It may therefore have served as a precedent for the similar standardization of the lay subsidies in 1334.

⁹⁴ "The Crown and its Creditors", *loc. cit.*

⁹⁵ *Transactions Royal Hist. Soc.*, 3d ser., vol. VII.

⁹⁶ *Am. Hist. Assoc., Annual Report*, 1917, pp. 281–292.

full length in a most valuable paper⁹⁷ the complex manuscript sources which still await the explorer in this field, and from which his own results had been laboriously derived. Meanwhile his introduction to the *Surrey Taxation Returns, 1290-1332*,⁹⁸ traced the levying of these taxes with the help of illustrations from a specific field, and contained important notes about assignment, the collectors' process of account at the exchequer, and the standardization of the subsidy after 1334. Incidentally this introduction includes a salutary warning of the caution required in using such returns to estimate wealth or population; Willard concludes that they may possibly have a value, relative to each other, for the former purpose, but that their use in calculating population is, owing to the steady decrease in the number of nominal tax-payers, practically nil.

Even when we add his paper on "The Scotch Raids and the Fourteenth Century Taxation of Northern England",⁹⁹ in which he shows how the severity of these raids may be illustrated by the reduction of assessments in the parts affected, principally before but also after 1334, we still do not exhaust our debt to him for a long record of important work carried on thousands of miles from his manuscript sources under what must have been conditions of extreme difficulty. For there is still to be included his recent study on "An Exchequer Reform under Edward I.",¹⁰⁰ of which the writer has unfortunately not yet been able to obtain a copy, not to mention his invaluable guide to the subject of "The Memoranda Rolls and the Remembrancers, 1282-1350",¹⁰¹ which describes all the effects of the Stapledon reforms upon those records and officials, and well fulfills Willard's determination "to set up a few guide-posts"¹⁰² for the direction of the student of administrative history.

The mention of the Stapledon reforms recalls the fact that little or nothing has been said so far of exchequer history in the reign of Edward II. The omission must unfortunately stand, not because nothing is known, but because Tout and Conway Davies¹⁰³ between them have sketched the outlines at least with no uncertain hand, and because consideration of space makes it impossible, and I hope un-

⁹⁷ "Brief Guide to the Records dealing with Taxes upon Movables", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. III., no. 7.

⁹⁸ *Surrey Record Society*, publication no. XVIII.

⁹⁹ *University of Colorado Studies*, June, 1908.

¹⁰⁰ In *The Crusades and other Historical Essays, Presented to Dana C. Munro*, ed. L. J. Paetow, New York, 1928.

¹⁰¹ In *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, 1925.

¹⁰² "Brief Guide to Records dealing with Taxes on Movables", *loc. cit.*

¹⁰³ *Baronial Opposition to Edward II.*

necessary, to deal with works now many years in print and so familiar as theirs.¹⁰⁴

Tout's third and fourth volumes, on the other hand, have only just appeared and immediately demand attention. Their publication brings us within sight¹⁰⁵ of what will indisputably be the most striking event in the whole field of English Medieval studies since the first appearance of Stubbs's *Constitutional History* more than fifty years ago. But we must not anticipate. In these two volumes Tout reaches 1399, the goal which he had set himself, with a brilliant study of politics and administration at large as well as of the narrower subject which he has made peculiarly his own; only the history of the small seals and the badly needed index are to come. There is much of exchequer interest in these volumes. In the first of them Tout begins by suggesting that a conscientious attempt was made at the exchequer during the minority of Edward III. to carry out the Stapledon-Melton reforms. Thus the chamber accounts were practically all cleared by June, 1330, and the exchequer records of the period, especially the Memoranda Rolls, are very full and good. The Pipe Roll reforms seem to have been adopted by 1340, and ancient debts were removed from the estreat roll and enrolled separately, while arrears of wardrobe and other foreign accounts were cleared off by the end of 1334, the year of the standardized subsidy. At the same time, as we have seen, the use of assignments began to be much extended.

The outbreak of the Hundred Years' War is prelude by the Walton Ordinances of July 12, 1338, which Tout describes as "in intention, if not in effect . . . perhaps the most important administrative act of the reign of Edward III." It is impossible to deal with the measure here;¹⁰⁶ its success, however, as Tout has shown, was both temporary and incomplete. The general aim was to subject both exchequer and chancery to the privy seal, and the exchequer in particular to a further committee of audit appointed by the king. An interesting minor point is the provision that the treasurer should supply the king with a statement of his debts and an estimate of sums

¹⁰⁴ There is more to know, but we must wait for it until Dr. Dorothy M. Broome has published her researches on the fourteenth-century exchequer. She has given us a foretaste of their quality in her "Auditors of the Foreign Accounts of the Exchequer, 1310-1327" (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII. 63-71 and XXXIX. 482), correcting Tout, *op. cit.*, II. 341; her "Exchequer Migrations to York in the 13th and 14th Centuries" in *Essays Presented to Tout*, 1925; and her "Ransom of John II." in *Camden Miscellany*, vol. XIV. (1926). All these are used to great effect by Tout in *op. cit.*, vols. III.-IV.

¹⁰⁵ A fifth and final volume is promised for 1929.

¹⁰⁶ Printed in full, *ibid.*, III. 143-150.

needed to meet them. Although in general such modern ideas as budgets, estimates, and balances are foreign to the Medieval mind, there was probably nothing new about this suggestion. It should be compared with the second part of a document printed by Miss Mills¹⁰⁷ and apparently dating from the Easter term of 1284. This is an undoubted estimate of actual revenue, but on the other hand it is also no more than a private memorandum drawn up for their own use by the officials of the exchequer. The same is true of the "National Balance-Sheet of 1362-1363"¹⁰⁸ with which it is naturally compared, though it is possible that in the latter case there was some intention of using these rather pessimistic calculations in order to persuade Parliament to grant a subsidy and that they were by so much the more "public" and "official" than those of 1284. There was, however, no provision for budgeting or balancing in any of the normal records of the exchequer, except of course with individual accountants, through the whole of the Middle Ages, and attempts of this kind, though probably not infrequent, were little more than private diversions. In so far as the Walton Ordinance attempts to officialize them it is interesting, but there is no indication that its injunction was ever seriously carried out.¹⁰⁹

We now come to the crisis of 1340-1341, reflected in the exchequer not only by a change of treasurer, but by the appointment of four new barons, a new chancellor of the exchequer, and new remembrancers.¹¹⁰ Apart from the mere fact of these changes that crisis is of little importance there.¹¹¹ All the new barons and the chancellor at least were clerks, though the treasurer was a layman; the king, in short, "had evidently no objection to clerics, when they did not shelter themselves behind the immunities of their order", and,

¹⁰⁷ In *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XL, 229.

¹⁰⁸ Published with a commentary by Tout and Miss Broome in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX, 404-419.

¹⁰⁹ Summaries of receipts and issues for 1339-1340 were apparently made, but they were drawn from the receipt and issue rolls of that year and mean very little, owing to the number of purely bookkeeping transactions involved.

¹¹⁰ It should be noticed that from these two volumes by Tout what looks like a practically complete list for the period 1327-1399 of treasurers, barons, chamberlains, and even chancellors of the exchequer, the names in each case often being accompanied by brief biographies, might be compiled. To these might be added more occasional notices of the remembrancers, of at least one writer of the tallies, and sometimes of the tellers of the receipt. Until Miss Broome's lists appear, Tout's work will remain our principal authority for the names and careers of the officials of the Medieval exchequer.

¹¹¹ Yet it was the failure of the exchequer to meet bills of the wardrobe and to export sufficient cash beyond the sea which had caused the whole trouble. Tout, *op. cit.*, IV, 106 ff.

adds Tout, in any case anti-clericalism had long since died away in the exchequer, where for generations clerks and laymen had worked harmoniously side by side. Much more important in exchequer history is the long treasurership of Edington, 1345-1356, under whose strong hand the exchequer not only obtained full control of the machinery set up to administer the special war grants, but finally crippled the revived chamber of Edward III. for good and all by the withdrawal of its landed estate, just before Edington's preferment.

The next period of marked exchequer activity is under John Barnet, bishop of Worcester, who became treasurer in February, 1363. It is with him that the "balance-sheet" of 1362-1363 must be associated, and it is to him that we must allocate the credit for a serious attempt to overtake the enormous deficit disclosed. Such an attempt would hardly have been possible but for the large sums available in the ransoms of France¹¹² and Burgundy, and here there was the further difficulty that the king himself appears to have been building up a private war-chest, first in the Tower, and subsequently in the chamber, out of all the payments from this source which he was able to intercept. It was therefore a real triumph for Barnet when a prolonged enquiry in the summer of 1365¹¹³ successfully established the principle that any money contributed by the exchequer to a private store of the king's should be duly entered, if not accounted for, in the records of the department. Meanwhile a persistent attack by the two chamberlains upon the treasurer's clerk in the receipt, Richard Chesterfield, had broken down, while the chief baron had been implicated in an obscure judicial scandal of 1365, and had been punished by deprivation, imprisonment, and a heavy fine. All this activity, taken in conjunction with the overhauling of the chamber finances in 1355-1356, the re-transference to the exchequer in 1360-1361 of great wardrobe accountability from the wardrobe of the household, where it had been lodged as in the old days for nearly ten years, and the reorganization of Queen Philippa's household by its virtual incorporation in the king's in 1363, looks as if it were a whole new system which was on trial; a system which was finally approved by the success of all these measures and by the double subsidy granted in Parliament in 1365. This system no doubt began with Edington, but was certainly carried through by Barnet, very probably with the assistance of William of Wykeham, his friend and only rival in the confidence of the king.

Financial stringency, due to the renewal of the war, brought

¹¹² See Miss Broome's "Ransom of John II.", in *Camden Miscellany*, vol. XIV. (1926).

¹¹³ Set out in full in the Memoranda Rolls.

about the crisis of 1371. From the point of view of the exchequer the only real victim was the treasurer, Bishop Brantingham, and the only innovation the retention of a lay treasurer for so long a period as six years. The famous mistake about the number of parishes in England should not be laid at this official's door: it was made only the day after his appointment and was certainly the work of the subordinate staff of the office, which had remained unchanged. The interesting points are, first, that the exchequer discovered its mistake within a month, and secondly, that it "set an early example of the official collection of exact statistics" by asking the delegates to the Winchester council, summoned to reapportion the subsidy, to bring with them a report as to the real number of parishes in their shires.

The early years of Richard II. are marked in exchequer history by the Commons' constant demand for, and unsatisfactory experiments with, special treasurers of war, an office which apparently goes back to the Walton Ordinance¹¹⁴ in theory, though as far as I am aware never put in practice before. After being scrapped by the Commons themselves in 1379 it was revived in 1385 and 1390, and was finally adopted by Henry V. and his successor,¹¹⁵ in whose reigns, however, the post was frequently doubled with the keepership of the wardrobe of the household. Apart from this, there is little to record of the exchequer under Richard II. Officials under the rank of treasurer or chief baron hardly seem to have taken sides with, or to have been singled out for punishment by, either one party or the other in the great crises of the reign. Continuity is the real key-note, new blood being normally limited to the offices just mentioned. Even the fall of Richard II. leaves the exchequer practically unmoved, but for a natural and inevitable change of treasurers—thus of the five barons of 1 Henry IV. only two were new, and one of these had been a king's clerk under Richard. Tout concludes that by the end of the fourteenth century "the exchequer was fossilised by tradition", and with that conclusion we are well into his fourth volume.¹¹⁶

The rest of that volume is devoted to the detailed history of the three wardrobes and the chamber in the fourteenth century. It naturally includes much that is of value concerning their relations with the exchequer, but as it is only of subsidiary value it must be

¹¹⁴ Tout, *op. cit.*, III. 73, 149, Walton Ordinances, *ibid.*, c. VIII.

¹¹⁵ See below, pp. 508–509, and *cf.* Tout, *op. cit.*, IV. 225.

¹¹⁶ Space forbids the use of much interesting detail about the exchequer during the Peasants' Revolt (*ibid.*, III. 369–370), or about the Ricardian chamberlains' practice of combining their exchequer post with other duties (III. 451), etc., etc.

reluctantly passed over here. It is worth noting Tout's general impression of the pedantry and precision of the exchequer at this period, especially in relation to these departments: "exchequer control then, as treasury control now, meant straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel."¹¹⁷ By the end of the century it is fair to say that all these departments had been consolidated in effect into a single civil service, of which the chamber formed an insignificant part, so insignificant that Richard II. "did not even try to use it for autocratic purposes". And yet it was precisely the chamber which was destined to be revived.

We now enter on the uncharted sea of fifteenth-century administration. There is not, as far as the writer is aware, any up-to-date attempt in print to deal with the financial and administrative situation under Henry IV.—Wylie's well-known work touches on these subjects, but in such respects it is not a satisfactory guide. A little later we have a solitary article by R. A. Newhall on the "War Finances of Henry V. and the Duke of Bedford, 1417-1424".¹¹⁸ Unfortunately Newhall bases his statistics very largely on the figures given in the Receipt and Issue Rolls; he is alive to some of the defects of this method, but has been unable to avoid them. He has interesting things to say of the "treasurer of war",¹¹⁹ who besides doubling the part of treasurer, or keeper of the wardrobe of the household, seems to have acted in some sort as representative of the exchequer in the field. Newhall thinks that he was also head of the chamber, which, if true, is important, since he has traced several large payments into the chamber during this reign. There is usually a mere record of the sum and the fact that it was conveyed to the king in France; it is, moreover, significant that there is seldom any note of its expenditure or any attempt to earmark it, though both processes do occasionally occur. After the conquest of Normandy troops in the field continue to be paid by the treasurer of war, who (somewhat infrequently) receives large sums for this purpose from the exchequer, but troops in garrison are now paid by Norman officials out of Norman revenues. On Henry V.'s death Bedford became regent of France only, thus completing the severance from the English exchequer, which had become more and more marked as the conquered territories had begun to pay for themselves and field operations had gradually ceased.

Meanwhile, as Tait has pointed out,¹²⁰ the renewal of the war

¹¹⁷ Tout, *op. cit.*, IV. 93.

¹¹⁸ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI. 172-198.

¹¹⁹ Above, p. 507.

¹²⁰ Introduction to *Taxation in Salford Hundred, 1524-1802*, Chetham Society, 1924.

brought about "bold and fruitful" experiments in expansion of direct taxation. On two occasions under Henry IV. levies had been imposed on clear income derived from land above a certain value, while under Henry VI. a graduated income-tax, including income from offices, annuities, rent-charges, and so forth, was imposed. These special war measures were, however, abandoned after 1450, when the old fixed subsidies returned, and it is not till 1489 that we get in the first conjoint tax on both realty and personalty, the earliest of the successful Tudor subsidies.

Whatever we do not know about the way in which successive fifteenth-century governments supplied their needs, we do at least know that those needs were unlimited and that even the special taxes just mentioned were wholly inadequate. Hence it was very common to take refuge in loans. In this connection Miss E. J. Davis and Miss Peake have recently published¹²¹ a most interesting list of loans from the city of London to the government of Henry VI. during the years 1431-1449. These loans, which apparently carried no interest, appear to have been commonly secured upon exchequer tallies of assignment, many of which proved impossible to cash, at any rate for a long time. Hence a fresh loan was commonly in demand before the first had been repaid, and on at least one occasion the city hit upon the idea of making up the sum required by handing back the tallies found uncashable; they were, however, rejected by the Council, which pointed out that they "myght nat ease the kynge oure saide soueraine lord thanne at his saide greet nede". Slightly before this date important help was being given to the government by Cardinal Beaufort, about whose financial relations with Henry V. and Henry VI. we shall be better informed when K. B. McFarlane publishes his researches. Meanwhile the revival of the chamber under Henry V., the strain of the renewed war and of the period of civil strife which followed it, the multiplication of loans and the abuse of assignment, all contributed towards the state of decadence into which the exchequer fell in the fifteenth century and in which we must leave it. More than a hint of what was to befall this proud and ancient office stands revealed in the satirical verses on its condition at the beginning of the century, published by Mrs. Eric George.¹²²

This poem is a description of all the stages through which first a "foreign" and then a sheriff's account must pass in the exchequer, together with an indication of the official to be bribed at each stage and the amount that must be paid. It may be dated approximately to the period 1398-1410 and it reveals an extraordinary degree of

¹²¹ *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, IV. 165-172.

¹²² *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI. 58-67.

"fossilisation", to adopt Tout's expression, and corruption, not only in the Upper Exchequer, but also at the Receipt. No doubt much must be discounted as satirical exaggeration, but there is a certain amount of evidence that these complaints were well founded. Thus in 1406 a Commons' petition for administrative reform specifies the undue taking of gifts and fees by the treasurer and officers of the exchequer, while in 1455 a similar petition, recognizing, however, and accepting certain fees, actually took effect. The resultant act was superseded, however, almost immediately by an ordinance of the council made on July 28, 1456, which enumerated a large number of legitimate gifts and fees, was ordered to be read openly, and was entered on the King's Remembrancer's Memoranda Roll. Mrs. George shows that a comparison of this list with the text of the poem suggests that the gifts and bribes complained of in the latter had now become recognized payments. Sir Julius Caesar (Chancellor and Under-Treasurer in 1606) docketed his manuscript of the poem, which is the one used by Mrs. George, simply as "privileges of the Exchequer", and evidently considered the "extortions" to be identical with the "fees", which of course had become even greater by his time. The fact is that the original salaries of the exchequer officials were relatively small and fixed, so that we have here the process by which they were transmuted into the valuable sinecures of later years, the stock example being the New Year's gifts to the treasurer, which became in time a definite perquisite of the office.

We are straying far beyond the limits of the Middle Ages, but while we are on this unfamiliar territory it may be worth while to note that nearly all the unfortunately rather scanty modern work on the post-Medieval exchequer is of great value to the student of its earlier history. It is only possible to refer here to the work of A. P. Newton,¹²³ Mrs. George,¹²⁴ R. D. Richards,¹²⁵ and W. A. Shaw.¹²⁶ Of these Newton and Richards are not dealing directly with the subject, but their researches are none the less of great exchequer value.

It only remains to mention certain scattered articles which for lack of space we have been obliged to pass over without comment,

¹²³ "The King's Chamber under the Early Tudors", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII. 348, and "A List of the Records of the Greencloth Extant in 1610", *ibid.*, XXXIV. 237-241.

¹²⁴ "Notes on the Origin of the Declared Account", *ibid.*, XXXI. 41-58.

¹²⁵ "The Evolution of Paper Money in England", *Harvard Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XLI. 361-404.

¹²⁶ Introductions to the several volumes of the P.R.O. *Calendars of Treasury Books, 1660-1689*.

but from which many minor points of interest may be derived. Such are the papers by Miss Sandys on "The London Temple in the Thirteenth Century", and by Mr. Galbraith on "The Tower as an Exchequer Record Office under Edward II.", both in *Essays Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, 1925—Miss Broome's "Exchequer Migrations to York" in the same volume has already been mentioned. Messrs. Sayle and Richardson are at present conducting an enquiry into the origin of the so-called "exchequer series" of Parliament rolls,¹²⁷ but so far their results, though of great interest in the history of Parliament, do not bear at all on that of the exchequer. On the other hand an article entitled "Rolls from a Sheriff's Office of the Fourteenth Century", recently published¹²⁸ by Miss Mills and Jenkinson, links up the exchequer with the county, and even with the hundred, in a most suggestive fashion, and is accompanied by some general inferences about such local organizations and the class which staffed them of remarkable interest and value.

There is one other omission, and a very grave one, to which the writer must confess; he has said nothing about the history and study of the customs. His only excuse must be one of space, coupled with the consideration that, though obviously related to exchequer studies, this is really a subject in itself. We can again do no more than refer to the classic work of Hubert Hall,¹²⁹ which has been recently challenged in some respects and in others superseded by that of N. S. B. Gras.¹³⁰ It might be added in this connection that certain Port Books, of the class used with such effect by Gras, have recently appeared for the first time in print.¹³¹ The whole class had been condemned as valueless by Palgrave and others in 1835,¹³² but they were luckily preserved for all that and are now coming into their own.

If in conclusion the writer may be allowed to state what is the most general impression left upon his own mind by this brief and insufficient survey of the present state of studies on the Medieval exchequer, it is that the complexity of the subject and the richness of the sources can hardly be exaggerated, and that therefore it is as well to keep an open mind as to what may emerge from the application of the intensive processes of modern research to such material within the next few years. We have been taught to believe that the

¹²⁷ *Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.*, vol. V., ff.

¹²⁸ In *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII. 21.

¹²⁹ *History of the Customs-revenue of England*, 2 vols., 1885.

¹³⁰ *The Early English Customs System*, 1918.

¹³¹ *Welsh Port Books, 1550-1603*, ed. E. A. Lewis, Cymmrodorion Rec. Series, XII. (1927).

¹³² Jenkinson, *Manual*, p. 124.

Medieval mind was not as the modern mind in the matter of finance and administration, any more than in the matter of religion. That is, no doubt, true, but it may be exaggerated. Cunningham, Ashley, Sombart saw the Medieval man knowing not credit and innocent of most financial expedients; Tawney has referred to his "casual pawn-broking . . . accompanied of course by larger operations".¹³³

When we think of the assignment and the tally, of the wardrobe debenture and the warrant for issue, of the various types of the fictitious loan, and of the uses to which all these and many other devices were put by the English exchequer alone at least as early as the early fourteenth century, and when we remember that that office was by no means the most financially "advanced" institution of its age, it becomes hard to maintain this view. And deploying in support of Medieval subtlety come the big battalions of Postan's Continental learning.¹³⁴

ANTHONY B. STEEL.

¹³³ *Discourse upon Usury*, ed. R. H. Tawney (1925), p. 87.

¹³⁴ *Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.*, V. 176-178, and "Credit in Medieval Trade", *Economic History Review*, vol. I., no. 2.

BRITISH PUBLIC OPINION OF THE PEACE WITH AMERICA, 1782

IN a recent discussion of the newspaper as a source comparatively little used by the historian, the question is raised whether the press reflects, guides, or forms public opinion, and the comment made that though the point may be deemed purely academic, yet the writer of history who uses the newspaper as a record must at least attempt to answer it.¹ A cursory examination of British newspapers toward the close of the eighteenth century leads one to the conclusion that while the press of that day was hardly influential enough to form public opinion, it no doubt guided it to a considerable extent, and was certainly an effective mirror of the popular conception of current affairs.

The following excerpts from contemporary newspapers have been chosen to show British public opinion concerning certain aspects of the peace with America, of which the preliminaries were signed November 30, 1782. The files from March 27, the beginning of the Rockingham ministry, through February 24, 1783, when the Earl of Shelburne resigned as Prime Minister, reveal not only what the reading public actually knew of the progress of the peace, from the scarce items of genuine news, but also the various and inconsistent rumors to which it was exposed. News items constitute not over ten per cent. of all the matter printed on the subject. Supplementing both news and rumors were the many individual opinions expressed in the contributed letter, paragraph, and the more rare leading article, all of which may be assumed to be fairly representative of public opinion as a whole.

When it became evident that independence was to be the foremost demand of America, Fox and Shelburne differed as to how much of it Great Britain should grant. The concession recommended by Fox, as Rockingham's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is described as "absolute, unlimited, *unconditional* INDEPENDENCE, without compact, or alliance, or even stipulating for payment of our merchants' debts, or security for the lives and properties of the Loyalists. . . . This was all Congress could have asked . . . it was all France desired when she began the war".² He "strikes at the first

¹ Lucy M. Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian*.

² *Morning Herald*, July 9. Frequently the same item is copied from one newspaper to another or appears simultaneously in several papers, so that it is impossible to tell which had it first. The foot-notes cite only one reference for any one item. The year 1782 is to be understood unless otherwise noted.

jewel of the British Crown", writes a True Briton, "he wants to lop off America".³ On the other hand, Shelburne, as Secretary of State for Home Affairs, had another plan, which was, according to the papers of June 12, 1782, to put America on exactly the same footing as Ireland, giving her "a Viceroy, a House of Lords and Commons, without any appellant jurisdiction to the Courts of Great Britain, together with all the advantage resulting from a free commerce".⁴ This legislature shall be "independent of any other legislature upon earth . . . to consist of the King of England, as King of America, and such representation . . . as the Americans themselves shall think proper. . . . She will be, to all intents and purposes, *regal* within herself" and without being in the least under the British Parliament will contribute her share to form a loyal Empire.⁵ Two days later it was said that Shelburne's plan might not be laid before Parliament until it was known "whether our continental brethren will accept the proposition".⁶ Benjamin Franklin's response to it left no uncertainty. "His only reply was—'having thrown off the yoke of the *master*, my countrymen will never be so weak as to be governed by his deputy!'"⁷ Some months later, Shelburne's plan bore fruit in an open letter to his lordship signed "A Friend to his Country" to this effect:⁸ Grant independence similar to Ireland's—not to the Congress which is the ally of France, but to the Loyalists; let them set up a Congress in New York independent of the British Parliament, but acknowledging the king, and subject to a viceroy. Carleton, it is suggested, would fill this office well, with Cornwallis, Arnold, and Tarleton under him. Supply them with money, and continue the operations of the army and navy. Any entanglement with France is thus avoided.

Shelburne's attitude toward independence was of course the more generally popular, the *Morning Herald* of July 5 thus adjuring his opponent: "Mr. Fox should remember that the rights of this country are not to be sported with; and that the great body of the people differ with him on such a measure." It further complains that Fox's parliamentary declaration "has entirely done away with the hopes . . . of coming to terms . . . short of independence, which Lord Shelburne certainly had in contemplation".

Other terms appeared even earlier than Shelburne's, in the *Morning Chronicle* of April 2, proposing that, since American representation in Parliament is not approved by either England or America, an

³ *Morning Chronicle*, July 24.

⁴ *Morn. Her.*, June 12.

⁵ *Morn. Chron.*, June 13.

⁶ *Morn. Her.*, June 15.

⁷ *Ibid.*, June 18.

⁸ *Morn. Chron.*, Oct. 17.

American legislature be incorporated with the British Parliament. The same paper suggests another idea, that is, the Roman system of giving constitutional rights to colonists who lay down their arms, a civil constitution to be granted to all such. Now is the time to try it, when America is fearful of the designs of France, without men or money, her commerce lost, her forces generally defeated, and her country ruined by war.

On July 9, Shelburne, in his first speech as Prime Minister in the House of Lords, stated that he was still of his former opinion as to the inexpediency of giving independence to America; that when it should be established, "the sun of England might be said to have set";⁹ that he had used every effort to prevent it, but now was obliged to give way. However, he was free to say that he had no doubt the event had been hastened by the rash advice (meaning Fox's) "to acknowledge an independence which might have been destroyed in the bud". The *Morning Herald* of July 13, commenting on Shelburne's about face, says that he "has been converted from his old political system, as Copernicus was from the Ptolemaic—He now sees that the world goes round the sun, not that the sun goes round the world, and though the sun of England may set with American independence, yet he looks to see her rise again in all her pristine glory from the West". Four days later the same paper carps at Shelburne's *double entendre*, saying that no one who heard his speech could "comprehend what part his Lordship intends to take in respect to a jurisdiction over the Colonies".

Fully three months before this "melancholy event", the newspapers were printing letters of protest. On March 29, one who signs himself Senex writes: "nothing but the most urgent extreme of distress should ever induce England to vote America *independent*."¹⁰ By the middle of April, so firm had America's demand become that it is said that the "Commissioners from Congress in Europe cannot ever open a negotiation"¹¹ without independence being first admitted. On May 7 the *Morning Herald* consoles itself for the inevitable by saying: "As for us, by giving up that point, we can lose nothing more than a set of refractory disobedient children, whilst Holland, Spain and the other powers now in confederation with these new states, have every thing to fear." A week later, however, we read that the obnoxious demand of the Congress will not be admitted, "as the leaders of the Administration are fully determined to oppose it";¹² a futile determination, however, judging from a paragraph ap-

⁹ Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne* (2d ed., Lond., 1912), II. 163.

¹⁰ *Morn. Chron.*, Apr. 5.

¹¹ *Lond. Chron.*, Apr. 16-18.

¹² *Ibid.*, May 11-14.

pearing June 19: "There is not the least probability that the American Congress will come to any terms, even with their *best friends*, the present ministry, short of absolute independence!"¹³

On July 2, "A Friend both to Great Britain and America" submits to the *Morning Chronicle* certain arguments in favor of granting immediate independence, since it seems to be the general opinion that America will get it anyway; independence being offered, if at the same time reasonable terms are proposed for France, America would urge France to accept them or else she would make a separate peace for herself; in the second place, independence granted at once might save the estates of the Loyalists from confiscation; thirdly, nothing can be lost by an immediate offer, while on the other hand there is great harm probable in delay, for the longer independence is withheld the more alienated will the Americans become in commerce, for English trade is already being undermined by France and an act of Congress prohibits the importation of British goods. As soon as independence is offered, the writer doubts not that "the affection of the greatest part of the people of America will return to its former channel". On the fourth of July there appeared in the *Morning Herald* a letter brief and to the point signed Politicus. There are only two ways of concluding matters with the Americans, it states, either subdue them or give them independence. It is too late for the former, and they already have attained the latter. Dependence involves Great Britain in America's quarrels, while independence will split her into factions instead of leaving her united in one common cause against Great Britain. Grant independence, then, and "we might have a steady ally". It was thus with Spain and Holland, when the latter became an independent state.

As to the attitude of the Cabinet, "the word *independence* is hard to pronounce in the Cabinet of London; Mr. Grenville took particular care not to make use of it and in his provisions, not only is it not mentioned, but even the United States is not named!"¹⁴ He uses the word "freedom" in place of the objectionable term, we read later; the paragrapher adding that the British proposals are not very likely to be granted, until their agent is empowered to speak more clearly.¹⁵ "The chief ground of quarrel in the Cabinet, was the proposed *independence* of America, which, after all, it seems, is not now likely to be granted to the Rebel Congress."¹⁶ Three days later it was reported that "the disagreements between the late Ministers are

¹³ *Morn. Her.*, June 19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, July 6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, July 9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, July 6.

so far adjusted . . . that Lord Shelburne has declared, he wishes not to remove any one individual; all those . . . in office, therefore, who are ready to support Lord Shelburne's refusal to avow American independency, may, if they please, keep their places".

During the rest of the summer there is very little mention of American independence, which was coming to be considered a foregone conclusion. A correspondent writing to *St. James's Chronicle*, September 3-5, asks: "Why not acknowledge the Independence of that country? they *are* already independent in every Thing but the Farce of British Recognizance." The *Morning Herald* on September 26 admits it, saying that "his Majesty has condescended to give his revolted colonies the title of the THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA . . . quitting all claim to any jurisdiction whatsoever over that new empire"! As justification for the dismemberment of the empire, a correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* offers the following: "heaven dis severed America from England, ab origine, by the great Atlantick Ocean; and all the art, sophistry, and chicanery of cunning or interested men will never be able to join them. Poor, deluded England has spent over 100 millions . . . in the attempt, and happy for her that she has seen her error."¹⁷

There were protesting voices up to the last, however, typified by "A Seaman", writing to Admiral Keppel, that "Every Briton, who endeavours to promote a declaration of American independence is an enemy of his country";¹⁸ and a letter from Lycurgus, asserting that granting unconditional independence to America would be "but to acknowledge ourselves the aggressors and justify her rebellion"¹⁹ and would make America only more stubborn and insolent. The Roman policy, the writer observes, was never to accept, but to dictate, terms of peace. "It is rather paradoxical", comments the *Morning Herald* of September 25, "that the moment rebellion was extinguishing itself should be seized upon . . . to make a formal surrender of all claim of American allegiance and dependence upon Great Britain forever." A letter to Shelburne sarcastically inquires, since independence is said to be granted for the good of Great Britain, then why not give Canada to France and Gibraltar to Spain?²⁰ And only ten days before the peace preliminaries were actually signed between Great Britain and America, the *Morning Chronicle* printed a letter to Shelburne signed "A Briton", imploring him to, "humour the spirit and wish of the nation at large, for one year more at least,

¹⁷ *Morn. Chron.*, Jan. 11, 1783.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 17.

¹⁹ *Morning Post*, Sept. 20.

²⁰ *Morn. Chron.*, Oct. 5.

or two; use a vigorous exertion during that period, and depend upon it you will succeed beyond all opposition. . . . Let the Tower of London be taken sword in hand before you submit to such a disgraceful ruin as American Independence".²¹ Let Shelburne now try his strength in the House against the Rockinghamites, and Fox, and Burke, says the writer. The unity of the empire must be preserved at all costs.

Very early in the discussion of independence, the question was raised as to its legality. The London *Chronicle* of May 11-14 carries a letter signed A British, and also A real American, Patriot, expressing the opinion that the King, Cabinet, or Parliament may do any act for the good of the state, but can not divide, separate, or alienate the territorial rights of the crown. For the next four months the topic vanishes from the papers almost entirely, to come up again frequently during October and November. A paragraph appeared on October 2, declaring that this is "one of the greatest political subjects ever agitated in this country. . . . The first point it contains is, 'Can the Crown sever the dominions of the Empire?' Should this be determined in the negative . . . then the second point will be, 'Does the act of Parliament which authorizes the Crown to make peace with America, give it authority to declare America independent?'"²²

Lord Shelburne himself effectively cleared up the situation for some of his adherents, who quote him as follows: "'If [said his Lordship] the colonies are to be severed from this country, let the people give away their own inheritance, let this important business come before Parliament, and let the great council of the nation decide upon it; for us, comprising only the Privy Chamber of the Sovereign, to give away the people's dearest rights, is treason against the people.'" ²³ This opinion was soon echoed in the press, namely, that no single person has the power to acknowledge the independence of America. "The whole legislature must concur in creating such a power, and vesting it in the Crown, before the dominions of this country can be alienated."²⁴ Later paragraphers, however, expressed a contrary opinion: "The authority of Parliament . . . doth not extend to the transferring of allegiance of any subject from his rightful and natural Sovereign to another";²⁵ and again, "the parliament have no more right to give up America and declare it independ-

²¹ Nov. 20.

²² *Morn. Her.*

²³ *Morn. Post*, Oct. 15.

²⁴ *Morn. Her.*, Oct. 18.

²⁵ *Morn. Chron.*, Oct. 28.

ent . . . than they have to declare, that all the securities in England on mortgage shall be dissolved".²⁶

By November 21, the *Morning Post* considered that it was "generally agreed that the power of the Crown is competent to negotiate conditions of American independency, yet so important concessions cannot be legally made without the joint concurrence of the three branches of the Legislature". That this prerogative of the crown was not very "generally agreed" upon, however, appears from "Queries submitted to the consideration of both Houses of Parliament",²⁷ printed on the very day the preliminaries were signed: the American colonies being settled by British subjects, governed by Parliament, are they not as much a part of the realm as Wales and Middlesex? And if this is so, what law or prerogative authorizes the king to break the unity of empire by dissolving the allegiance of three million people, without the consent of people or Parliament? Further, if the king can dispose of America, has he not the same right to give independence to Scotland and Wales? Does not prudence advise the king to consult the people or Parliament upon this step?

For weeks after the preliminary terms were settled, the controversy raged as to whose prerogative it was to free America. The king "cannot legally alienate any part of his territory, in which his right, though hereditary, is neither real nor personal, but merely official. The avowal of American Independence, in short, is an act for which the Ministry alone, and not the Sovereign, is responsible, and it may be reversed either by them or their successors in office".²⁸ Early in January "A Briton", writing a series of three letters²⁹ on the question, reaches the conclusion that a king of Great Britain can not by virtue merely of his *prerogative* dismember the empire, and then inquires whether he possesses that right under any statute. "The only statute, upon which this question can arise, is the act passed in the last Session of Parliament, intituled 'An act to enable his Majesty to conclude a peace, or truce, with certain colonies in North America, therein mentioned'." This statute, however, should not be so construed "as to give his Majesty a power to disenfranchise and cut off from the British Government for ever, thirteen provinces, containing 3,000,000 of people", most of whom have been faithful subjects, "when there is not an *expression* or word that can be tortured into such a meaning". At all events, no ministry did take upon itself the responsibility suggested, and the act granting inde-

²⁶ *Morn. Her.*, Oct. 29.

²⁷ *Morn. Chron.*, Nov. 30.

²⁸ *Morn. Her.*, Dec. 28.

²⁹ *Morn. Chron.*, Jan. 9, 16, 24, 1783.

pendence was not reversed either by the ministry who sponsored it, or by any of "their successors in office".

Assuming that independence was a foregone conclusion, the Cassandras of the British nation began, even before the Shelburne administration was well in the saddle, to predict its dire consequences. A letter to Shelburne, signed "Public", declared that separation of America from England would mean the ruin of the latter. Why not treat America as Ireland had been treated, at the same time pursuing the war vigorously against France?³⁰ From "A True Briton" Shelburne also received the prediction that emigration to America would "half depopulate this country", and, moreover, America "will have a navy that will one day deprive us of all we possess abroad".³¹ Her shipping and her navy, always Great Britain's sensitive point, gave the people much concern. "Lord Shelburne is so sensible that the independence of America will strike at the root of the marine strength of this country", says the *Morning Post* of August 9, "that he has it in contemplation to lay a plan before Parliament for a naval militia, to consist of 50,000 men." One "Portius", writing to Shelburne,³² sees the time coming when Britain's "commerce shall fail and her eternal decline commence", unless a stop is put to American independence. "If there really are not resources in this nation . . . to reduce America to her former obedience, let only *three* or *four* of the Provinces be annexed to Great Britain, and the other divided into two distinct Republics, to pursue different interests and different alliances."

The danger of American independence to Great Britain's colonies in the new world gave much concern. History shows how pride of empire affects a nation, says a letter of August 21.³³ "*Not content with independence, it aims at conquest*; and there is no doubt but the first object of American ambition will be the reduction of all our islands." "In less than seven years of peace and independence", writes "Caractacus", "their shipping will increase to such a degree, that the West Indies must become theirs."³⁴ Nearly three months later this opinion is expressed again: "If America is given up, it will . . . be impossible that Great Britain should long retain her islands in the West Indies; they are, geographically speaking, appendages of America, and from their situation they must necessarily belong to that continent. What will become of the greatness of

³⁰ *Morn. Chron.*, July 8.

³¹ *Ibid.*, July 24.

³² *Morn. Her.*, Oct. 11.

³³ *Morn. Post*, Aug. 21.

³⁴ *Morn. Chron.*, Aug. 9.

Britain? Like Carthage, she will fall, when the commerce on which it is founded, is no more. The independence of America, therefore, must be the downfall of England: are the people then ready to acknowledge that independence, merely to avoid paying taxes a couple of years more?"³⁵ In short, "will it not", says the *Morning Post*, "be a plain confession, that the colonies have all along been right in their contests, and of course that Great Britain has been wrong"?³⁶

If these were foreseen to be the evil consequences of American independence to Great Britain, were the effects on America herself to be altogether favorable? A correspondent of the *Morning Herald*, July 12, proposes the following queries: Who will protect America? Is there any known instance of a country with extensive sea-coasts being respected by other nations? Supposing her coasts protected, how would her commerce overseas fare if a European war continued? Would any European powers offer her the chance to carry on commerce unmolested? What would happen in case she offends some maritime power which would not regard her with affection, like England, but would wage war in the heart of the country? How many years before America can protect herself? What will be the fate of her commerce until she can? Has American oak been tried for ships of war, and have they lasted? Have not American manufactures dwindled during the war? The Americans, moreover, are sure to have internal strife and broils with their Florida neighbors, and "will reap with interest the harvest of their ingratitude".³⁷

Other paragraphers, however, foresee a more rosy future for the "infant republic", with a vision singularly prophetic:

[How it] may in time build its grandeur on the ruin of the five principal maritime powers by seizing on their transmarine possessions, is very easily accounted for. But would their ambition stop there? By no means; masters of the North Sea, they may engross to themselves the profitable fisheries of Newfoundland. In the next place, their vicinity to the coast of Africa, would induce them to usurp the trade of that country from the Europeans; they would soon make their way to the East-Indies; and who knows, but, when they will dare, perhaps, to attempt it, across the isthmus of Panama. . . . These events cannot take place for a great many years hence—granted; but sound politicians should foresee them, and be staggered at the mere probability, though ever so distant.³⁸

That this tremendous expansion of America will be due in large measure to immigration from Great Britain itself, is an opinion held by many. "Emigration from England, Scotland and Ireland to

³⁵ *Morn. Her.*, Oct. 29.

³⁶ July 26.

³⁷ Feb. 17, 1783.

³⁸ *Morn. Her.*, May 7.

America will be one of the heaviest blows this country ever received", says the *Morning Herald* of November 7. Troops disbanded there are likely to remain and contribute to the population of that rising empire, says the *Morning Post* of December 10; also it is known that many poor artificers and manufacturers are planning to emigrate. Three days later the *Post* continues this theme, going so far as to say that:

the Independence of America will in a few years overturn the whole system of Europe. As soon as the Thirteen Colonies are established in the form of a separate state, tens of thousands will emigrate from all parts of Europe and repair the losses of the war with a rapid increase of population. The pride of empire will awaken, and conquests will be multiplied on neighboring borders. Hallifax [*sic*] and Nova Scotia must soon fall; Canada must follow; the fisheries of Newfoundland will, in time, be engrossed by themselves, and then they will direct their strength against the islands. Florida and all the Spanish possessions on the banks of the Mississippi will fall before them; and as they increase in power, that power will reach the limits of the Southern Ocean, and dispossess the Europeans of every hold upon the great continent of America. Such will be the wise, the blessed effects of separating them from Great Britain; and such the consequences, that in less than a quarter of a century may overturn all the political systems of the old world.

To encourage that general emigration the Congress "have determined", according to a letter from Paris, "to regulate the mode of religious worship on principles of very extreme religious toleration; that the Presbyterian will be declared the established religion of the whole Continent; but that (Paganism and Idolatry excepted) all modes of worship will be permitted".³⁹

As to directing their strength against the islands, as predicted above, the *Morning Herald* thinks "there is little doubt but the Island of Cuba will be the first object of the Americans, should they ever wish to possess themselves of any of the Sugar colonies. Spain may therefore . . . dread the consequences of their independency".⁴⁰ Indeed the example of America will be the strongest inducement among Spain's own colonists "to throw off the Spanish yoke and finish the business . . . they have already begun".⁴¹ Another cause of worry to Spain is her colonies in South America, whither she is anxious to send troops, fearing that the Americans will employ their forces there, as soon as peace is made with England. "All Spanish America must necessarily fall to them. The contest will soon arrive; the free navigation of the Mississippi will speedily bring it on."⁴²

³⁹ Lond. *Chron.*, Feb. 8-11, 1783.

⁴⁰ Dec. 14.

⁴¹ Dec. 24.

⁴² Feb. 7, 1783.

To the public in general, the most serious objection to giving independence to America seems to have been the effects it was expected to have upon British trade.⁴³ Unconditional independence would mean the ruin of trade, says a letter to Shelburne,⁴⁴ while the *Morning Herald* rejoices that independence is to be granted "not *unconditionally*, as Mr. Fox wished it to be done; some regard, at least, is to be paid to the commerce of this country".⁴⁵ An acknowledgment of complete independence "is not only disgraceful in the last degree, but is giving a public *fat* to the ruin of our American merchants, who have debts on that continent to the amount of several millions".⁴⁶ The same paper points out that among the ruinous consequences would be the sacrifice of the West Indies settlements, "which would be so total an annihilation of our trade, as for ever to obscure the greatness of the British Empire".⁴⁷ Again its readers are reminded that ship-building being one of the great trades of North America, ship-builders discharged from British yards, on a peace, will migrate to America, as will also disbanded soldiers, to escape heavy taxes at home, and with them will go the sinews of the wealth and power of England.⁴⁸ On February 10 it announces that "the American trade will be the great object of the commercial endeavours of this country". Two days later it has the news that the "cloathing countries already begin to feel the effects of peace; the demands for woollen cloths coming in quicker than the manufacturers can make them".

That the trade with Florida was well upset, is shown by an advertisement in the *Morning Chronicle* of February 3, 1783, headed West Florida, and calling upon merchants and all concerned in lands to meet at the Crown and Anchor tavern, Strand, to discuss "proper measures for security in the present critical situation of their concerns". The same paper reports on the following day that the proprietors of East Florida met and agreed to appeal to the government "relative to the alarming situation of their property".

On the other hand, to a few commentators it seemed distinctly advantageous to British trade that America should be independent. The *Morning Chronicle* for Christmas day, 1782, prints a letter headed "'The Trade of England is forever undone by the loss of our American Colonies.' Vulgar Error": showing that this is a widespread but erroneous notion, for England has grown poor because of her American colonies, not enriched by their trade, which is only a

⁴³ *Morn. Her.*, July 2.

⁴⁴ *Lond. Chron.*, July 18-20.

⁴⁵ *Morn. Her.*, July 27.

⁴⁶ *Morn. Chron.*, Oct. 24.

⁴⁷ *Morn. Her.*, Oct. 21.

⁴⁸ Nov. 7.

drop in the bucket compared with her trade with other nations. It would therefore be wise to acknowledge their independence and thus shake off their attendant expense, and then make a treaty of commerce with them. The colonies could not get a better market than England, which would soon give them unbounded credit and high prices for their products. They are too far away to subjugate, "they don't chuse our government". All England wants is their trade, which they will certainly give; but even if they should not, England can maintain herself as she has for many ages past, for she trades with all the other nations of the globe. Similarly, a letter signed Watts⁴⁹ contradicts Shelburne's early prophècy that the sun of England would set forever upon an independent America which "from its first settlement has not only been defended and protected, but *cloathed*, too, by this Kingdom, for 150 years past. America is the cause of all our wars since the reign of Queen Ann [*sic*] ". England has had America's trade, but while she sent them more than she imported ("a trifle of furs, tobacco, and rice, and some New-England built ships, and some train oil") much of it has never been and never will be paid for. England has corn and cattle, wool, iron, tin, copper, and lead—products too similar to America's to make trade there profitable. America, to be sure, can furnish masts and yards, pitch and tar, but so can Russia, Sweden, Norway, and all the Baltic states. Therefore, all things considered, Great Britain can manage very well *without America's trade*. As for America's attitude, meanwhile, although, as "the center of Freedom", she means to allow free trade when it is to her benefit, yet she will "open her filial arms to her dear parent"⁵⁰ so long as the latter will sell her better goods than her neighbors. About the time of the signing of the preliminaries it was reported⁵¹ that certain commercial privileges were to be secured exclusively to Great Britain, by way of affording some sort of compensation for the concessions of the parent state.

One of many rumors to reach the public concerning the general peace negotiations was that Vergennes had proposed the partition of America among the belligerents, whereby Great Britain was to lose the two Floridas and Georgia to Spain, and the Carolinas and Virginia to France. "The scheme was totally rejected by Lord Shelburne, upon the principle not only that the rice and tobacco colonies were the only valuable ones on the continent, but chiefly because he expected England to recover the trade of the whole, notwithstanding their independence", says the *London Chronicle*, December 10-12.

⁴⁹ *Morn. Chron.*, Jan. 4, 1783.

⁵⁰ *Morn. Post*, Sept. 30.

⁵¹ *Morn. Chron.*, Nov. 19-21.

At the end of January, 1783, Lord Shelburne was waited upon by a committee of Canadian merchants, complaining that the boundaries fixed upon by the provisional articles:

for the territories of the American Republic, so completely and effectually blocked up the passages from the Indian country to the British garrison of Montreal, that the fur trade must be totally destroyed. . . . Not a single fur could be brought to the British market in Quebec, after the Definitive Treaties were signed, without permission of the governors of the American forts on the banks of the Lake, and in the Back Country, which was all ceded to the Americans.⁵²

The Prime Minister expressed surprise at this news, saying that such consequences of the boundaries agreed upon had not been foreseen, and he promised to bring the matter to the attention of the council. A correspondent in the *Morning Herald* for February 5 is more outspoken, asking: "whether the Quebec traders went into the Indian country for furs, or the Indians brought the furs to Montreal? . . . An imaginary boundary can block up no passage, and . . . the Indians will go to market where they are best treated."

As for French trade relations with America, it was reported October 1⁵³ that since England will so soon have to acknowledge American independence, French merchants have given up the idea of no further credit to America and are executing incompleting orders from that country. It was greatly to be feared that independence would "give France the dominion and commerce of the European Seas, and render Great Britain at least insignificant among nations".⁵⁴ Indeed France's exclusive attitude toward American trade was said to be the principal obstruction in the way of peace, and the present trade between France and the thirteen colonies "interrupted as it is by the war, employs 160 ships and 3,400 seamen; a most alarming fact, for this country"! ⁵⁵

Not France, but Portugal, will profit most from an independent America, in the opinion of the *Morning Herald*, for she can get timber and other such products more quickly than from the Baltic, and pay for them with Madeira wine. But the spectre looms that America may want to seize the Madeira islands, and then "all Europe [will] be too late convinced of the impolicy of suffering a sovereign state to rise beyond the Atlantic".⁵⁶

As a barometer of how closely the news and rumors of the progress of peace negotiations affected the economic life of England, the

⁵² *Morn. Her.*, Feb. 1; *Lond. Chron.*, Jan. 30-Feb. 1, 1783.

⁵³ *Morn. Her.*

⁵⁴ *Morn. Chron.*, Nov. 30.

⁵⁵ *Lond. Chron.*, Dec. 3-5.

⁵⁶ Dec. 31.

fluctuation of the stock market and the tendency of private betting deserve attention. After the death of Rockingham it was "reported on 'Change" that Fox would not leave the Cabinet, and stocks rose half a per cent.⁵⁷ On July 13 we read that "stocks fell one per cent today in consequence of the news from America".⁵⁸ On July 15 the *Morning Post* reports: "All prospect of peace is now so entirely vanished for the present year, that the oldest stock-brokers are generally of opinion that funds will fall more than five per cent." This fall seems a clear indication of lack of confidence in the new ministry. This is expressly stated on July 27: "The immense rise of the funds on the Marquis of Rockingham coming in, and their fall on the Earl of Shelburne taking the lead, writes to all the world the difference of the men in characters too legible to be mistaken!"⁵⁹

The report on August 2 that Lord Hertford had gone to Paris on peace business "gave a temporary elevation to the funds; but the rumour soon lost ground" and "while stockbrokers and jobbers in the Alley are announcing the near approach of peace . . . hostilities appear to be going on with fresh vigour".⁶⁰ This "stock-jobbing gentry" is held responsible for many wild rumors to give hope of an approaching peace, notably reports of the movements of Mr. Fitzherbert, British minister to Brussels and commissioner for the peace settlement. "All the Paris accounts of Mr. Fitzherbert which have lately been published", says the *Morning Post* on September 20, "appear to be Alley fabrications, as we cannot find them in any of the foreign prints, though they are published here as coming from that quarter."

The hopes of the public for peace appear to have fallen very low in October, for an even bet was laid at White's of a thousand guineas, that America would not be independent for ten years to come;⁶¹ again "fifty to one is laid that the independence of America will not be acknowledged by Parliament, but that a most vigorous defensive war will pursue the rebels";⁶² and again on November 15, "considerable betts are laid that the war with America will be reassumed with all possible vigour".⁶³ By the end of November the odds were at least ten to one against a peace, "the proposals on the part of Great Britain being such, that our combined enemies have returned them".⁶⁴

⁵⁷ *Morn. Chron.*, July 9.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Morn. Her.*

⁶⁰ *Morn. Post*, Aug. 21.

⁶¹ Oct. 7.

⁶² *Morn. Her.*, Oct. 22.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 29.

On the following day, November 30, the preliminaries were signed by America and Great Britain, but it was four days before the public knew it definitely, though suspicions had leaked out. The *Morning Chronicle* of December 3 states that rumors of peace on the previous day had sent stocks up, adding that as Secretary Townshend had promised to let the Bank know immediately, when peace was made, it was not likely that these rumors were true. On this very day, however, the secretary was making good his promise and writing the letter which was printed in the papers of December 4. This was to announce the signing of the provisional articles "between his Majesty's Commissioners and the Commissioners of the United States of America, to be inserted and constitute a Treaty of Peace, when Peace shall be concluded between Great Britain and France", and to ask that the news be made public as soon as possible. The immediate effect of Townshend's letter was to send stocks up, then down again, when it was realized that this was not the general peace the public longed for, but merely an announcement of provisional articles, and the bets were three to two that there would be no peace.⁶⁵

All this uncertainty is well summed up in the comment in the *Morning Herald* of November 15: "The whole world is a lottery, and we have but small chances in every part. In America we have a small chance of conquest—a small chance of reconciliation—the Loyalists have a small chance of escaping—the garrison at Gibraltar has a small chance to be taken—Lord Howe has a small chance of fighting the combined fleets—and we have no great chance of peace."

The British press expresses very few opinions as to the personnel of the peace commissioners on either their own or the American side, though comments and criticisms upon the ministers responsible for the peace are abundant. The names of the commissioners occur from time to time as news, or rumors of their movements are reported, but there is little in the way of appraisal. The *Morning Post* of November 27, however, says of Richard Oswald: "to a considerable judgment he unites a great experience of American affairs, and can better describe the boundaries of the different colonies, than any other negotiator in Europe." "Mr. Fitzherbert", the *Morning Herald* of August 16 says, "is perhaps one of the fittest men we have for such an employment:—'Mores humanorum multorum vidit et urbes.'—His long residence abroad in different parts of the Continent has made him most expert in the sentiments and languages of Europe." In an allusion⁶⁶ to Henry Strachey, his name is spelled Stratchey and again Stretchy and Stretchey, which, if inconsistent, at least gives some clue

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Dec. 5.

⁶⁶ *Morn. Post*, Nov. 21.

to its oft-disputed pronunciation. Of Caleb Whitefoord, acting as secretary to the commission in Paris, the *Morning Chronicle* of September 9 says that he "is more popular there than almost any Englishman we remember".

Not so complimentary is the press to the American negotiators. Dr. Franklin, so well known from his previous residence in England that the use of his Christian name seems to be considered superfluous, is apostrophized in a letter to Lord Shelburne as "thou eldest born of malice",⁶⁷ after which his name scarcely appears in the papers until September 6, when it is reported that five citizens of Manchester have been "imprisoned and charged with treasonable correspondence with Dr. Franklin".⁶⁸ This is corroborated in a report on September 10 that the government has "discovered a correspondence of a *strange* nature between some people *lately in office* and Dr. Franklin. The letters have all passed by way of Ostend, and were directed to a merchant in that city".⁶⁹ A letter from Paris quoted in the *Morning Chronicle* of February 5 says: "Dr. Franklin, the father of the Revolution in America, was not the first who signed the treaty at Paris, but Mr. Adams; the old gentleman [Franklin] has, indeed, lived to see his plan completed; but it is said his memory fails him, and he seems to be following his brother genius, Voltaire." There are occasional sneering references to Franklin's intimacy with the French—it was even reported⁷⁰ that Lafayette was to sign with him the treaty granting independence to America—but no attempt is made to weigh his qualifications for his important mission. Some weeks after the peace preliminaries had been signed, it was reported, without comment, that Franklin had declined to be ambassador to Great Britain.⁷¹

At first there was a certain inaccuracy in the press as to the names and movements of the American commissioners. "An Evening paper confidently asserts", said the *Morning Chronicle* on April 15, "that Mr. Laurens, Mr. Adams, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Jaken [*sic*] and another gentleman, from the Congress, are now in town, and negotiating with the present ministers for a peace." Adams's name appears frequently, without comment, as America's minister to Holland. John Jay, minister to Madrid, is characterized in the *London Chronicle* of June 13-15 as "an unacknowledged adventurer from the Congress to the Court of Spain". Laurens is the most frequently mentioned, because of his capture and imprisonment in

⁶⁷ *Morn. Chron.*, May 16.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Morn. Post.*

⁷⁰ *Morn. Her.*, Dec. 7.

⁷¹ *Lond. Chron.*, Feb. 4-6, 1783.

the Tower of London and his subsequent tarrying in England on account of his health, and as he was able to participate in the peace discussions at Paris only during the last two days, it is hardly surprising that in the reports of the negotiations he does not figure. Indeed the *Morning Post* of July 23 reported that he had resigned as commissioner and returned to America, adding "it appears that this gentleman, like others of his countrymen who appear here with smooth faces and palavering tongues, went away a fixt and determined enemy to England, and openly abused the Earl of Shelburne while abroad". The same paragraph remarks that Mr. Jefferson having not yet arrived in Europe is supposed to be lost at sea, so there are now, Laurens having departed, only three American commissioners. As a matter of fact, Jefferson did not even cross the ocean, and Laurens did not return to America until 1784.

It is hardly to be expected that the press of one country will deal gently with the heroes of another with whom it is at war, and yet the English newspapers were not particularly harsh with George Washington except as their jealousy was involved because of America's relations with France. The *Morning Herald* of April 2, 1782, prints the rumor arrived from Philadelphia that Congress had determined to begin to make peace with Great Britain, having discovered "that their commander in chief had attached himself more to the Crown of France than to the real interests of America", and the *London Chronicle* says that Congress is "displeased with the conduct of General Washington, who is entirely in the French interest". Dr. Franklin adds fuel to the fire by writing, according to the *Morning Post* for August 21, "that the French King has offered Mr. Washington a rank in the French army, on condition that he will reside in France when the war is over". Perhaps it is to this report that the following comment refers in the same paper for September 20, on the news of Washington's being made a marshal by the French king: "ENGLISHMEN hear this! the Dictator of America has the modesty to tell all the world that the King of *Frenchmen* is the protector of liberty!" "Mr. Washington seems to have imbibed all the servility of his Gallic allies. . . . His address . . . on the birth of the Dauphin, is contemptibly fulsome, and breaths a language unworthy the patron and friend of freedom, and disgraces the pen and principles of an independent American General."

And yet there seemed to be no doubt expressed in the papers that Washington was anxious for peace with Great Britain. The *Morning Post* prints the report (by way of several letters from America) that he "appears heartily tired of his situation and anxiously

wishes to see peace restored amongst the belligerent powers; a circumstance that is said to have caused many suspicions of the General's intentions, by a few of the most violent members of Congress".⁷² That he did not feel at liberty to make a separate peace with Great Britain was known: "It is said that General Washington has determined to oppose all overtures from this country on the subject of negotiating a separate peace with America; but that he speaks in terms of the highest respect of the new [Rockingham] Administration, and laments that they did not come into power before America had contracted alliances, to which both honour and her interest will compel her strictly to adhere."⁷³ It is further reported that when he heard of the change of ministry, he ordered a general "feu de joy" to be fired.⁷⁴

Washington is admitted to be a tenacious fighter. The *Morning Chronicle* of September 11 prints extracts from a letter from an English adherent in New York to the effect that while he "has got a man, or a shilling to pay one with", he will hold out for independence. It is even asserted that he "has all the innate principles of a Cromwell, and his army is not, by any means attached to Congress",⁷⁵ and further it is printed as news that he was appointed Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of America.⁷⁶ But in spite of these darts directed at his ambition, there is almost nothing in the press which casts aspersions upon his personal character, save the one "prevailing opinion" which the *Morning Post* sees fit to print on October 12, that in the northern colonies it is thought that "General Washington intends to oppose all offers that may be made by the mother country, till some stipulations are made for his own safety and emolument".

Such are some of the expressions of British public opinion upon various aspects of the peace with America, as found in the contemporary press. Among the many sources which the historian must use if he is to cease writing history in the flat, and endeavor to write it in the round,⁷⁷ not the least valuable are the daily records of contemporary interests found in the newspapers. If the eighteenth-century English newspaper is rather a reflector of public opinion than it is a guide or former of it, or, we may add, an informer of it, yet its value in the latter capacity was recognized by no less a student of public affairs than Dr. Johnson, who wrote in the *Idler*:⁷⁸ "All

⁷² Sept. 21.

⁷³ *Morn. Chron.*, June 25.

⁷⁴ *Morn. Her.*, July 4.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 26.

⁷⁶ *Morn. Chron.*, Jan. 3, 1783.

⁷⁷ Lucy M. Salmon, *op. cit.*

⁷⁸ No. 7, May 27, 1758.

foreigners remark that the knowledge of the common people of England is greater than that of any other vulgar. This superiority we undoubtedly owe to the rivulets of intelligence [from the newspapers] which are continually trickling among us, which every one may catch, and of which every one partakes."

EUNICE WEAD.

NOTE AND SUGGESTION

NEGLECTED EVIDENCE ON AN OLD CONTROVERSY—BRONSON *v.* RODES AS A FORECAST OF HEPBURN *v.* GRISWOLD

THE charge that the United States Supreme Court, after having held the legal tender laws unconstitutional in February, 1870, by a four to three vote, was packed in the appointment of Justices Strong and Bradley for a reversal of that decision a year later by a five to four vote is familiar to every student of American constitutional history. That the charge has never been proved is pretty well agreed, and the opinion of most recent historical writers on the subject would seem to be that it has been affirmatively disproved.

In the opinions of the judges in a case decided about a year before the court held the legal tender laws unconstitutional, there is a bit of evidence on the question which has apparently escaped the attention of the various historians of the period and which, as a matter of merely historical interest, is believed to be of sufficient importance to note.¹

The charge, as at first made, was that, after Hepburn *v.* Griswold, President Grant and his Attorney General had deliberately selected the two new judges for the purpose of having the decision overruled. But Senator Hoar pointed out, in a pamphlet written to remove any possible cloud from his brother's name, that the President had not only sent Justices Strong and Bradley's names to the Senate for confirmation on the very morning of the day on which the court's decision was announced in the afternoon, but in Cabinet meetings previously had discussed these two as prospective nominees for the

¹ In calling attention to this neglected evidence the writer hopes not to deserve the reproaches which Senator Hoar directed against those who "rake up and write the discarded slanders of past generations and call it history". The country, it is believed, has the right to know the truth about its public officials, past and present, whomsoever the truth may pinch. But, whether this is true or not, since the evidence which is here introduced does not prove anybody's guilt, but goes rather to show that there has been no affirmative disproof and leaves the known circumstances still consistent with either good or bad faith on the part of those of whom the charge was made, the disinclination to rake up old scandals need not here interfere with the inclination to discover the facts, and the writer feels that he may speak to the point without hesitation. Indeed, some of the high officials whose good names are involved would doubtless prefer not to go down to posterity behind a transparent alibi interposed by their over-zealous friends to shelter their memories.

vacancies. There had been no time to cook up a conspiracy for reversal, therefore, and the suspicious circumstances were to be explained as unfortunate coincidences rather than attributed to design. This coincidence of the nomination with the date of the decision seems to have been accepted by more recent historians as a final disproof of the charge.²

The neglected evidence to which the title to this comment refers has to do with the possibility of advance notice of what the court's decision would be. It has been assumed that actual knowledge was required. Such, however, is not the case. A reasonable assurance was enough. For example, it has never been shown that there was a leak as to the court's opinion on the constitutionality of the Reconstruction Act, but Congress, nevertheless, was so sure that it would be unfavorable that it deprived the court of its jurisdiction over the *McCardle* case, after it had been argued before the court but before it could be decided. There are sometimes outside evidences from which a decision may be foretold with more or less confidence, and there were outside evidences in this case, the most important of which was the opinion in *Bronson v. Rodes*,³ the special subject of this paper, decided by the same court a year before the decision in *Hepburn v. Griswold*.⁴ The precise point at issue in the latter case, it will be remembered, was whether Congress had the power under the Constitution to make anything but gold and silver a legal tender in the payment of debts, an issue which depended on the broader question whether Congress, by legislative fiat, could coerce the acceptance of any prescribed medium of exchange for a sum substantially in excess of its intrinsic value. The same question was also presented in *Bronson v. Rodes*, but the court was able to avoid that issue on the ground that in the contract in controversy there was an express provision for payment in gold and that where the parties had so agreed the provision would be given effect whether the legal tender laws were constitutional or not. But though the court was thus able to defer an express ruling for another year, the opinions written in the case disclose very clearly the directions in which the thoughts of the individual judges were running. In reading such statements as the following one can almost be persuaded that one is reading from *Hepburn v. Griswold*:

² Charles Warren, *The Supreme Court in United States History*, III. 239; James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, VI. 270-273; Story and Emerson, *A Memoir of E. R. Hoar*, p. 199; A. B. Hart, *Life of Chase*, p. 400 *et seq.*; *Green Bag*, XIV. 203.

³ 7 Wall. 229-258; 19 Law. Ed. 141.

⁴ 8 Wall. 603-639.

"It is not pretended", said Chief Justice Chase, speaking for the court, "that any real payment and satisfaction of an obligation to pay fifteen hundred and seven coined dollars can be made by the tender of paper money worth in the market only six hundred and seventy coined dollars."

After reviewing the history of coinage legislation to show that every law regulating the amount of bullion in coins had been passed in order to make the actual value correspond as exactly as possible to the legal value, he said:

With these and other precautions against the emission of any piece inferior in weight or purity to the prescribed standard, it was thought safe to make the gold and silver coins of the United States a legal tender in all payments according to their nominal or declared values. . . .

The design of all this minuteness and strictness in the regulation of coinage is easily seen. . . . It recognizes the fact, accepted by all men throughout the world, that value is inherent in the precious metals; that gold and silver are in themselves values, and being such, and being in other respects best adapted to the purpose, are the only proper measures of value; that these values are determined by weight and purity; and that form and impress are simply certificates of value worthy of absolute reliance only because of the known integrity and good faith of the government which gives them.⁵

Justices Nelson, Grier, Clifford, and Field, all the Democrats on the bench, concurred in the opinion of the Chief Justice, while Justice Miller, staunch Republican, dissented, and Justices Swayne and Davis, Republican and independent Lincoln appointee respectively, though they concurred in the result, each in a separate statement qualified his vote so as to indicate his disapproval of anything in the court's reasoning that might cast a doubt over the constitutional power to make anything but gold and silver a legal tender. Here then is the identical line-up of the judges, each taking his position on the same side and expressing the same opinion that he later expressed on the same question in *Hepburn v. Griswold*, and for one year this had been on the official records open to the world.

That Chase, as Secretary of the Treasury, had advocated the legal tender laws, would certainly seem of little weight when set off against his opinion as a judge in *Bronson v. Rodes*, as an index to his ultimate decision on the constitutional question. This is especially true in view of the fact that he had expressed doubt about the constitutionality of the measure before he gave it his support, and of the further fact that in a report to Congress less than a year after the law had been passed, he spoke of gold and silver as the "only permanent basis, standard, and measure of value recognized by the Constitution".

⁵ 7 Wall. 249.

It is not conceivable that Attorney General Hoar could have been ignorant of this opinion. Aside from his interest in a public question as a leading Republican and one of the foremost public men of the time, his profession as a lawyer and his position as Attorney General would require that he know of it. It had been decided only a year before. William M. Evarts, his predecessor in office, had appeared on behalf of the government and had at the same term of court argued both *Bronson v. Rodes* and *Hepburn v. Griswold*. Judge Hoar himself, meantime, had been nominated for a position on the court and rejected by the Senate. His public interest, his public duty, his every public association, were such as to inform him of what was going on in the Supreme Court. And the lawyers for the railroads and other interests concerned also, of course, knew about the opinion.

But assuming, as seems clear, that no leak was necessary to get a good notion of what the decision would be, it does not therefore necessarily follow that anybody was guilty of corrupt conduct in getting it reversed. That there were incriminating circumstances can not be denied. The reader's familiarity with them is assumed. But without any advance understanding with the new judges as to how they should vote, and without yielding to any undue pressure from selfish interests that would dictate his selection, it would be quite possible for a president, with an eye single to his country's welfare, to choose able judges for the bench and yet to prefer them over others because of their known views on public questions. On this subject Lincoln, speaking of his prospective nomination of Chase, once said: "We wish for a Chief Justice who will sustain what has been done in regard to emancipation and the legal tenders. We cannot ask a man what he will do, and if we should, and he should answer us, we would despise him for it. Therefore, we must take a man whose opinions are known." It would hardly be thought to shame Grant and Hoar to convict them of conduct which Lincoln did not hesitate thus to avow.

It was not necessary, therefore, to deny foreknowledge of what the decision in all probability would be, or to profess ignorance of how the two new judges were morally certain to vote, in order to make out a case of good faith on the part of those whose conduct was impugned. Suppose they did have such knowledge, what of it? In reading the evidence in the case, one can not avoid the impression that the weakest part of the defense is that they or their friends were disposed to deny too much.

BRYANT SMITH.

DOCUMENTS

Some Letters of Salmon P. Chase 1848-1865

THE letters here printed are in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, having been presented by Mrs. Harlan P. Cleveland, a daughter of the man to whom they were written.

Stanley Matthews, to whom Salmon P. Chase addressed this correspondence, was born in Ohio, July 21, 1824, and died in 1889. The letters, which have never before appeared in print, nor come into the hands of the historian, cover roughly the period between December, 1848, and April, 1865, being particularly full for the years 1849 and 1850. Chase wrote intimately to a personal friend, apparently without reservations, and much new light is thrown on his election to the Senate at a time when the Free Soilers held the balance of power in the Ohio legislature. Matthews was at the time clerk of the lower house of the Forty-seventh General Assembly of Ohio. His career includes services as editor of the Cincinnati *Herald*, judge of Hanover County, state senator, district attorney for southern Ohio through appointment of President Buchanan, a colonel in the Civil War; he was, generally, a man to be reckoned with in Ohio political matters. Later he served as United States Senator from Ohio, and associate justice of the Supreme Court.

ANNIE A. NUNNS.

I.

COLUMBUS, Dec. 23, 1848.

My dear Stanley:

The Legislature is organized. The lower belongs to the Free Soilers. The first question to be brought onward respects the prima facie right of Pugh and Pierce¹ to their seats. It may come up on Tuesday.

Somehow or other our friend Taylor² has changed his views as to this matter; and, from being friendly to my election as senator, he has so far changed that he now thinks and says, I understand, that I am biased in my adhesion to my views on that question, (frequently expressed as you know before I had any idea of their bearing on my election) by expectations of support from the Democrats. Perhaps I am biased, but certain it is that he should not take part against me: at least not without fully and frankly stating to me his grounds.

The facts are about these. If Pugh and Pierce are admitted prima facie the democrats will probably feel more kindly toward the Free Soil

¹ George E. Pugh and Alexander N. Pierce were later accredited their seats as Democratic representatives from Cincinnati.

² This was probably James W. Taylor, the Cincinnati attorney.

men, than the Whigs: and they will naturally prefer among Free Soilers the persons, supposed to be most democratic in sentiment. They may prefer me for senator, and they do prefer you for clerk. On the other hand, if Spencer and Runyan be admitted, the Democrats will be alienated, and the Whigs will naturally prefer among Free Soilers, the persons supposed to be nearest themselves in sentiment. They prefer Hitchcock—I regard Giddings as out of the question—for Senator, and Swift, (who has been officiating on their side for clerk. Taylor, perhaps, thinks that, in this latter case, Brough and others at Cincinnati may be prostrated and he may be made associate judge. He could easier, I think, reach the latter point by a different course. At any rate no private grudge or personal interest should lead to the abandonment of avowed positions and of tried friends.

Under these circumstances I think you ought to come up immediately. I believe you can be made clerk. Hamlin has urged it and it is received very favorably.

How is Vaughan now on this matter of *prima facie* right to seats? If he thinks with us, he could do a great deal of good if here. See him, and if he is right, get him to come up. At any rate come up yourself, and let Taylor return to Cincinnati. At present he does more harm to us than good. He urges that if Pugh and Pierce are admitted the Free Soilers will lose the balance. This is not so: as Sheldon must go out, and Rockwell come in, when, supposing a Whig to be returned from Clinton, and Pugh and Pierce to retain their seats parties will stand, in the House, Whigs 28, Democrats 34, Free Soilers 7, Doubtful Whiggish 2[,] Democratish 1, total 72. If Spencer and Runyan come in, the case standing as before, otherwise—the Whigs have 30[,] add the two Whiggish Free-soilers 2, thirty two. Add also five of the Free Soilers, supposed to favor Whig views and they have 37; enough to elect their man. I don't however agree with those of our friends who think that five of our Free Soilers favor Whig views enough to make them otherwise than strictly impartial between the parties.

Whichever of the contestants come in I believe our Free Soilers will hold the balance, and use it honorably. The whole effect of bringing in one or the other set will be to propitiate one or the other party. This of course, should not influence any man's judgment: nor do I believe it will essentially. This makes me feel the more sensitive to such charges, as Taylor makes: and the more anxious to have you come up. Moloney said he should come up and spend the holidays. Can't you bring him with you?

This note of course you will regard as entirely between ourselves.

Faithfully your friend,

II.

CINCINNATI, Jany. 13, 1848 [9].

My dear Stanley:

I recd. your letter and thank you for it; and shall be particularly obliged to you, if you adhere to your resolution to keep me posted up. Capt. Roedter's³ view is not unreasonable I think; but if the Democrats

³ Henry Roedter of Cincinnati was a member of the Forty-seventh General Assembly of Ohio, as were the following persons mentioned in succeeding letters: Dr. Norton S. Townshend, John F. Morse, Brewster Randall, Isaac Van Doren, John G. Breslin, Benj. F. Leiter, Albert G. Riddle, Hugh Smart.

are satisfied as to the Free Soilers they support, is it not right that the Free Soilers should be satisfied as to the Democrats they support? Neither Whigs nor Democrats, should Free Soilers act with either in the election of particular officers, can properly ask Free Soilers to support objectionable men, nor on the other hand could Free Soilers ask support of Whigs or Democrats for candidates objectionable on other grounds than their Free Soil principles.

I am very desirous to see the strife about Governor brought to a conclusion. I hope our Free Soil friends will vote for the joint committee. If Randall will take the ground suggested in the communication I enclose all may be well; and he can still have the confidence of those who elected him: which is certainly desirable if it can be preserved without doing anything wrong. If you know Randall show him the communication. If not get an introduction to him and show it. Then also the Editorial indicating the effect the suggestions have even upon minds prepossessed against him.

In haste

Yours Ever.

III.

CINCINNATI, Saturday Night, 13 Jany. '48 [9], 10 p. m.

My dear Stanley:

It seems to me quite important that Messrs Morse and Townshend should be promptly vindicated from the aspersions of certain papers. I have drawn up a paper which I enclose with this view, hoping you will use the substance of it in an article of your own for the *Globe*. Use only the substance that my style may not be recognized. Make it as much stronger and better as you can. I meant to add a passage speaking of Messrs T. and M. personally as they deserve; but I had not room. Send it down *as soon as you can*.

What was the result of your interview with Van Doren? It would be hardly safe, I suppose, to communicate all your views to the old gentleman. He might reveal them in quarters where the discovery would do injury. The most that can be done with him is to get him to agree, that he will vote right when the time comes; and keep him to his agreement. He is an excellent man, but I suppose, liable to adverse influences. Do you converse much with Mr. Morse? I hope you will cultivate his acquaintance. I think very highly of him, as one of the fairest, best and most intelligent men in the Legislature. I know he expects to vote for Giddings rather than me for Senator: but after Giddings he will, I think support me. I have no fault to find with his preference. All I ask is justice and candid appreciation of my acts and motives, not support for office, unless that support can be given with the full sanction of the giver's judgment that it is best for the Free Soil cause.

Has Mr. Nichols gone to Clinton? It is quite important I think to secure a Free Soil representation of the right stamp from that county. Can't you aid this, by consultation with the Democrats especially with Mr. Trimble, the candidate of the Democracy last fall. The democrats cant elect a candidate without our aid which we can't give without loss of the balance of power. We can't elect a candidate without their help, which will give a more certain and reliable balance of power to the Independent Free-soilers, and be of advantage to them as well as to us, by more certainly excluding the Whigs from power in the Legislature. The Democrats ought to give us their support in this matter.

Tell Dr. Townshend, Mr. Morse and Mr. Hamlin ⁴ that I am looking for letters from each of them. I am very desirous to understand the lay of the land and the succession of events.

In haste and sleepy,

Your friend,

P. S. Have you a vacancy in your office which you could fill with a first rate young barnburner? Or is there already a pig to each of the small teats in your care?

I see no bill introduced as yet to repeal the clauses of the apportionment law districting Hamilton County. I hope Dr. Townshend will have introduced it before this reaches you. It seems to me very important to get this measure through the House with as little delay as possible. I hope some Whig votes can be had for the repeal. An effort should be made for them on account of their effect in the Senate.

IV.

CIN. Jany. 18, 1849.

My dear Stanley:

You will not get this till day after tomorrow morning, and yet I must write tonight for I am subject to so many interruptions in the morning that I cant possibly find time for a letter.

It was impossible for me to send you a copy of the printing resolutions by return mail for two reasons, *first*, I had no copy, *second* there was no time to write them out from memory before the mail closed. I have now written them out as well as I could. The language, in fact, and the substance, altogether, of the first set is preserved. By referring to the Document, which is I think No. 9 of Vol. 2, Stanbury's opinion you will be able to supply the hiatus, which you had better do yourself, as I imagine your practice in drafting resolutions will enable you to select the exact words more readily than anybody else.

I have heard nothing from Columbus for several days except two very welcome letters, one from Morse and the other from Nichols, and by the papers. I suppose you are very much engaged, and that it is a great tax upon your time, to write or even read letters. Still I must hold you to your engagement to keep me advised of all that passes of interest especially to me, and anything relating to the action of Free Soilers is of special interest to me apart from all my personal concern in it.

My letter from Nichols was under an injunction of secrecy, and I advised him to consult you on the subject matter of it. I presume he has done so. At any rate I think it best to advise you of the substance of it; but you must, on no account, let a word in relation to it escape you, unless the whole thing is already, as is very likely, the subject of consultation among you. Nichols says that he thinks Morse will, in case the Senate will not pass the bill to repeal the division clauses of the apportionment law, vote for the admission of Pugh and Pierce as constitutionally entitled to their seats, provided he can have satisfactory assurances that a Free Soiler, Giddings or myself, will be elected to the Senate by Democratic votes: and he (Nichols) suggests that a private note, distinctly stating that the signers will steadily vote for a Free Soiler, addressed to Morse by half a dozen prominent democrats, would be a proper form in which to give the required assurance.

⁴ E. S. Hamlin and his associate Israel Garrard were publishers of the *Columbus Standard*, a Free Soil paper.

It may be said that if Col. Morse is satisfied that the division clauses are unconstitutional he ought to vote for the admission of Pugh and Pierce, in case the Senate fail to repeal them, irrespective of any Democratic support of Free Soil men or measures; and it is no doubt so. But it must be remembered that Col. Morse's district is strongly Whig—that the question of the constitutionality of the division clauses has been little agitated there and is little understood—that the *prima facie* appearance of a vote for P. and P. to many of his constituents would be that of a vote for political desperate haters of all good, enemies of black law repeal etc. etc. Now it is plain enough, I think, that if a man's conscientious convictions lead him to do an act in my favor, though contrary to the opinions of many whose good will is valuable to him, I cannot be justified in looking coldly on, while the man is endangered by his act. So if the Democrats gain this great triumph, by means of votes given them upon the conviction that the Constitution and right is on their side, by men not of their ranks, every principle of justice and honor requires it seems to me that the democrats should be willing to assure those who give the votes that they shall not be sacrificed by it—that they, the Democrats, will vote for Free Soil men or measures to such an extent as will justify to [*sic*] the course of the Free Soilers who act with them, to their own constituents. For my part I would rather never be elected to any office, whatever than that a single honest man should be injured by supporting me, or by taking any step to ensure my election. I want nothing done for me unless it be both right in itself to be done, and safe for those who do it.

Your position and location will enable you to know whether any such thing as Nichols suggests can be done. He thinks some of the Democrats in his power would sign such a note.

I wish you would write me fully as to the state of matters. What became of the proposition of Capt. Roedter? How does Van Doren stand? With whom do you consult? Is there any Free Soil Caucus now? If not can you not succeed in making a nucleus for one out of the five signers of the Plan of Organization, Townshend, Morse, Riddle, Van Doren, and Smart? If these would meet together, admitting yourself and Hamlin and inviting all others who voted for Van Buren and Adams and are now with us on our State and National Platform, and *none else* except on such evidence of devotion to the cause as will command an *unanimous* vote for their admission, we should have an available Free Democratic Caucus, where consultations could not fail to be beneficial. But even then it must be tolerant.

What has become of the bill to repeal the division clauses of the apportionment law which Riddle was to introduce? It is time it was passed the House. Where are the bills, to repeal the Black Laws, especially Morse's School bill and the Bill to prevent kidnapping which I left with Hamlin to be handed to Riddle? If the Democrats intend to go with us at all against the Black Laws—and if they don't they are not so wise as I take them to be—Morse's school bill is the very [word illegible] to give to them action. I handed a copy to Smith who approved it and has it, probably, yet. It seems to me it should be got under way. I am particularly desirous that this bill should be passed and that Morse should have the credit of it. It will take the wind out of the sails of Buncombe beautifully. Wont you look to this and aid Morse all you can?

There was a rumor in town today that the Hamilton case was set for tomorrow: and I believe Pugh and Pierce have started up. Of course

there can be no truth in this rumor. It would [be] extremely injudicious to report this case I think till the bill for the repeal of the division clauses shall have passed the House.

Brough was in my office today. He seems to think that the Democrats dont expect to elect any of their own men to the Senate, and would therefore unite on me. I believe I could get a pretty unanimous vote of the Hamilton County Democracy *at this moment*.

Do write me fully and frequently.

Faithfully your friend,

P. S. I have as yet seen nothing of the letter containing the statement of the affairs with the Globe as to which you wanted me to see Smith.

V.

CINCINNATI, Jany. 24, 1849.

My dear Stanley:

I have not written to you for two or three days partly because I had nothing to write, and partly because I had so little time to write it in. I am much obliged to you for your letter of last Saturday, in which you give me so clear an account of the state of things in Columbus. I *wish* you would write oftener than you do: but I know how constantly you are engaged, and console myself by the reflection that if you do not write, you are doing all you can to secure the ascendancy of independent Free Democracy in the Legislature.

By the way speaking of Independent Free Soilers reminds me of a liberty I took today with a letter of yours to the Globe which I hope you will pardon, even if you do not think, on reconsideration, that what I did was best. I learned accidentally that in your letter of yesterday, after expressing the opinion that Pugh and Pierce would be admitted to their seats, and that you should regard the admission as a fortunate circumstance for Free Soilism, you went on to say that the admission of Spencer and Runyan was the only thing remaining to be done to insure the triumph of Taylorism in the Legislature etc. It occured to me, at once, that our opponents would lay hold of these expressions as a foundation for the charge that, in deciding on the rights of the respective sets of claimants to the disputed seats, our Independent Freesoilers are governed entirely by considerations of party advantage. I went over to the office to look at the letter, and found it was already in type. Being strongly persuaded, however, from reading the last two sentences in your letter that my apprehension was well grounded, and seeing that the sense was complete without these two sentences, I prevailed on Taylor, (who seemed quite reluctant to have any alteration made in your letter, fearing you might blame him,) to have them left out. I hope you will not be offended by the lopping off of these two superfluous, if not harmful, members of your epistle. If you have no more sensitiveness of authorship than I have I am sure you will not be.

I had a long conversation with Smith night before last on the affairs of the Globe. He says it is now just paying expenses, allowing nothing for the Moores or Gilmore: and that he is anxious to reduce expenses to the lowest possible figure. He expresses the highest opinion of you, and declares that if they have any Editor you are the man. I represented to him the indispensable need of a competent Editor to the success of the Paper, and he seemed to be finally convinced of it. I think you will find

the Editorial chair open to you at the close of the season if you desire it. I said nothing to Smith, about your account with the office for I had no data to go upon. If you wish me to go into this please give me the necessary information.

I heard today that a number of the Democrats have retracted their engagement to vote for Morse's bill, and that consequently the admission of Pugh and Pierce is again in doubt. I do not see any necessary connexion between the one and the other. But why the Democrats should be unwilling to vote for the repeal of the Black Laws I cannot conceive. They are, certainly, in clear violation of fundamental democratic principles: and the self imposed burden of sustaining them has been for years a millstone about the neck of the Democratic Party in Ohio. I don't see why the Party should wear this neck drop. It is neither useful nor ornamental.

When I left Columbus I supposed that Morse's bill would be brought to a vote *before* the Hamilton Case would be taken up. I think it should be now. Why not? I can see no reason, except that it may be desired to have the votes of Pugh and Pierce for the passage of the bill. But this is not important as I suppose: for there must certainly be votes enough to pass it without theirs. Why not bring the bill to vote at once and pass it: then admit Pugh and Pierce; then bring up the bill to prevent kidnapping and to prohibit the use of the jails etc. and let Pugh make a speech on that. He could make one which would reflect great credit on himself, and be very useful every way. In this way everything would go smoothly and to the satisfaction of all parties, and the way would be prepared for subsequent cooperation in other matters. I feel very confident that it is mistaken policy to postpone the passage of Morse's bill till after the admission of Pugh and Pierce. The true course, in my judgment, is to pass Morse's bill as soon as it can be brought to a vote, without allowing any amendment of any kind, just as it comes from the Senate if it has passed the Senate as introduced by Swift, if it has not passed the Senate, just as it was introduced in that body; then, if the division clauses of the apportionment law have not been repealed, admit Pugh and Pierce at once; then bring forward the kidnapping bill which I gave to Hamlin to be handed to Riddle. I believe this programme is the best; and Morse would doubtless feel very satisfied to have his bill passed, especially with the aid of the Hamilton County votes except Capt. Roedter's before he votes, as I understand he intends to, for the admission of Pugh and Pierce. Do see if something cannot be made of this. It cannot be that the Democrats would be guilty of such absolute suicide as to refuse their support, generally, to such a bill, so calculated in its whole frame, to satisfy their views. Allowance must be made I know for the peculiar views of some and the circumstances of others in particular localities: but certainly such may well content themselves, if they feel bound to be in their seats, to give silent votes against the bill. There must be other votes enough to pass it.

I see Father Van Doren voted against giving the printing to the Standard. How is this? I thought he assured you he would vote for it. Can't you bring the old gentleman back either to his democracy or his Freesoilism? It is a shame to allow him, after having been elected as a democratic Freesoiler, to be taken captive by Taylor Whigism. Can't you contrive some way to bring him out of Chuckery into his old neighborhood? Can't you impress Scranton into this service? Have

you ever had any talk with this last named gentleman? What are his views and purposes?

Let me hear from you very soon, and let me know exactly how the land lies. Have you had any further conversation with Capt. Roedter in relation to the subjects of your first letter?

I write to Hamlin by this mail and inclose a copy of a letter I lately wrote to Giddings. I am not more than half certain the step was a wise one. I wish you would read the letter and tell me what you think of it. If Giddings would give me his support, it would presumably induce most of the Whig Freesoilers and one or two Whigs perhaps to give me their votes, say eight in all. The Democrats and Independent Freesoilers would give four more. I should then only want forty three, out of fifty one (P. and P being admitted) democratic votes. This would allow for eight impracticable Democrats and I suppose the number does not exceed, if it reaches that figure.

I wish you would see Pugh and Pierce and ascertain whether they have any special wish that I should come up and make an argument for them. My business is a good deal behind in consequence of my absence this winter already, and it is important that I should give it as nearly my undivided attention as possible. Besides some friends have suggested that an argument from me, for either set of claimants, would look badly at the present time. Still if Pugh thinks that it is important that I should come up and argue the case, satisfied as I am that he and Pierce have the Constitution and Justice on their side, I should not hesitate to do so. I confess, however, that I incline myself to the opinion that it will do no good for me to be concerned in the arguments. You can judge best as to this on the spot. Please consult him and let it be determined among our friends what is best to be done, and advise me. I have heard that the vote was to be taken on the report of the committee without any argument. I am at the end of my sheet and it is $\frac{1}{4}$ past one, A. M. Jan'y 25. Good night.

Your friend,

25. M. I have just got yours of yesterday and find this anticipated in part and in part needless. Be generous enough to consider this an answer and yourself in my debt.

VI.

CINCINNATI, January 27, 1849.

My dear Stanley:

It is Saturday Evening, and clients and callers have all disappeared. Ball has just gone off to the Country. I am alone in my little law *sanc-tum*, if *such* a place can be imagined. I can almost imagine when I look up at the shelves, that Coke and Littleton, and Mansfield, and Holt and Blackstone, and Dane, and Kent and Story are looking down at me, not as full wigged and full robed justiciaries, but as quaint elves, with solemn faces, peering out from between dusty leaves. What a mass of long pondered decisions fill those shelves! How many hearts have beat and throbbed, almost to bursting, with expectancy of them! To some how late they came! Too late, indeed, when hope deferred had sickened and died, and substance wasted, health destroyed, and life lost, formed the inventory of the *gains* of a *successful* lawsuit. To others what agony they brought! Successful knavery, or cold and callous avarice, has won

the trick of the cards of law, or obtained judgment for the penalty of his bond, and homeless misery must go weep unpitied, of all save the Angel of Mercy, turned almost by deeds warranted by precedent, and which yet might "shame extremest hell" into an Angel of Wrath.

Yesterday a Mechanic came to me with a bill against one of our nobility for building a monument in Spring Grove—a costly mausoleum. He turned him over to his agent. His agent refused to pay the bill, on the ground that the Mechanic had agreed to build for a certain price according to a certain plan. It was true: but the plan had been changed and another substituted requiring four times the work. But the agent declared that the substituted plan was the original one to which the proposition applied. The agent was the son of his principal; and he was willing to have even a tomb, to repose in till the resurrection, built by toil defrauded of its earnings. Fortunately a comparison of facts and dates will enable the mechanic to determine which was the original and which the substituted proposition. But what a taste a man must have to be willing to go to his last sleep in a bed like that.

Yesterday noon, too, an old negress, grimy black, fat and squat and *odorous*, with a strapping fellow of some twenty eight came in and wanted me to draw her a *'scription*. She said the white people had let her come over here "just before the last high water,"—that was the poor creatures chronology—to work herself free and she had done it in four years. "How much did you pay for yourself." "Two hundred and fifty dollars," said she. And now she wants her son free. His mistress had let him come over to see her, and would let him go free for three hundred or three hundred and fifty dollars. She had been advised to have him go to Canada; but she wanted him with her in her old age, and if he should go to Canada and come back he would always be afraid of everyone he saw. "*Abbitrerry power*" said the old woman "is drefful you know." She seemed right honest, poor old simple soul. She wanted her son, whom God gave to be the solace of her declining years, and widow Thatcher was willing to let him obey God in consideration of three hundred and fifty dollars had and received! So I drew her a "*'scription paper*" and gave her a couple of dollars toward paying "*Abbitrerry power*" for letting her son go, and she went off thankful. That old woman may be in heaven, when many of earth's proud ones may lack a drop of water to cool their burning tongues. For you know I cant believe with you—that earth's devils and earth's devil's victims are going to the same place hereafter.

But I had no idea of writing you such a letter as this when I began: and I will change the subject as I well may for your letter of yesterday lies before me and suggests very different ideas.

I am very glad to learn that the Democrats are so unanimous in their determination to support Morse's bill. You will find that in the first section Morse's bill differs from Swift's, unless a correction has been made, in some respects which a comparison will disclose. It should be made to conform exactly, as in the shape Swift has it it is more acceptable to Meyers and some others, and is better itself. I hope to hear of its passage by Monday or Tuesday. I shall look for its fate with great anxiety. If it goes through the House by Democratic votes, having been already endorsed by Beaver and Blake in the Senate it will do Morse a great deal of service and place him on high ground. He has risked much in obedience to his conscientious convictions. If the Democrats have the

hearts I believe them to have, they will not let him suffer in consequence of their failure to vote for his bill.

Townshend and Morse, believing the law so far as dividing Hamilton County to be unconstitutional, could do no otherwise than they did, the law remaining unrepealed [*sic*]. If they had voted against both sets of claimants, and a special election had been ordered, the worse [*sic*] possible consequences would have resulted. They must vote against both, the law remaining unrepealed, or admit Pugh and Pierce. They acted rightly, and the calm reflection of almost every true Freesoiler will approve their course.

I feel especially for Morse. I am certain that he has acted according to his real convictions and with an eye single to the advancement of the cause of Anti Slavery. How mean and contemptible are the charges that he has been bought! The real complaint of these men is that he has refused to be bought. He has acted not only *not* from interested motives, but against the strongest suggestions of interest. He has acted nobly, and, I think, wisely. He has, no matter what detraction he may be called on to endure, the approval of his own conscience; and in proportion as his true action and motives can be made known, the sympathy and support of all earnest Freesoilers. It is among our first duties to sustain such a man, and it is a duty which I will perform at whatever sacrifice.

Dr. Townshend, too, how nobly he has acted! With less to risk indeed than Col. Morse and a constituency far sterner in its devotion to Free Democracy, than his he has displayed a constancy and a courage, and a truth to his own convictions, seldom witnessed.

One thing only I regret under the circumstances. I hear that the vote on the resolution was pushed through by the aid of the previous question, when Riddle had only yielded the floor for a motion to adjourn, not having concluded his speech against the resolution. I hope this was not so. I think so highly of Riddle that I should be very sorry to learn that any right or claim of his had been in the least degree disregarded. Indeed I would have allowed the most ample range of debate, and given full time and opportunity to Judge Spencer to appear in person or by counsel. Undue advantage could not have been taken of this, it seems to me, as the termination of the debate on any day say on Monday or Tuesday could have been provided for by resolution. These, however, are only the views of one at a distance.

Vaughan went up to Clinton and returned today. Tillinghast, the opponent of Jones has been a democrat and is now a democratic Freesoiler. He was a member of the Clinton County Central Free Soil Committee during the last Canvass: always before last summer a democrat and now sympathizing strongly with them. He is pledged, I understand, to act with the Freesoilers on all questions involving Free Soil issues. He will be supported by democrats and Freesoilers and will probably be elected. He comes out as an independent candidate but is endorsed by the Dem. Com. as a democrat and by the Free Soil Com. as a Freesoiler. Vaughan says the Clintonians made my election the test, and that Tillinghast was required to pledge himself to vote for me first and that he did so pledge himself. I think it very important that an arrangement be made to give him a seat next to Morse and Townshend, and that the Democrats agree to use no influence to induce him to separate from them in his action. It is their best policy as well as Duty. If Judge Smart would fully identify himself with them so much the better. *But be sure and provide*

him a seat next them. On no account neglect this. Perhaps Father Van Doren may then join the company. It will be a great deal better than that he keeps.

Ever yours,

VII.

CINCINNATI, January 29, 1849.

My dear Stanley:

I think the time has now come when I ought to take some definitive position in relation to the Senatorial election, and I am going therefore to write you plainly on the subject, in the confidence of friendship.

The House is now full, or will be when the Clinton election is over and the member elect from that county is qualified.

The admission of Pugh and Pierce is in accordance with my views except as to the matter of time. I could wish that a postponement had been allowed both on the score of comity, and on account of the probable effect of summary action on the Clinton election in exciting the Whigs to greater efforts than they might otherwise have made. But I, at a distance, am, of course, not very well qualified to judge of the expediency of pressing the question to so early a decision. Reasons for prompt action doubtless exist unknown to me. The admission itself was a necessary act—an inevitable duty, the law remaining unrepealed, to be performed, by those convinced of the unconstitutionality of the division of the county, whenever the vote should be taken.

I have done all I could in relation to the Clinton election, to secure the return of a reliable free soiler, who will stand by Townshend and Morse firmly. My efforts, joined to those of other Freesoilers directed to the same end, and of Democrats anxious to defeat the election of the Whig Ex-sheriff, have so far succeeded that Mr. Tillinghast, as member of the County Freesoil Committee and vouched as fully reliable by our friend Hibbin, is in nomination, or rather out as an Independent candidate, receiving the support of Freesoilers and Democrats. Tomorrow will determine the result. It rains heavily and the day will doubtless be very unfavorable. This will operate to our disadvantage, as there will not be so much zeal put forth in behalf of an independent candidate, as of one distinctly nominated, whose election can be claimed as a party triumph. I think, however, success is nearly certain, as the majority of Democrats and Freesoilers united over the Whigs was, at the October election, about 600—a majority hard to overcome.

The Freesoilers in Clinton, I learn, make my election a paramount consideration; in which the Democrats are entirely willing to gratify them. The Democrats here, also, seem generally to regard my election as a thing settled, and I receive, every day, congratulations which are particularly annoying under existing circumstances. I received, also, a letter from Bolton, of Cleveland, yesterday in which he says, "I am clearly of opinion that among our party, even here on the Reserve you could carry a majority of the voters for the Senate, and almost unanimous after J. R. Giddings." I suppose myself that the old Liberty men, almost without exception, the bone and sinew of our organization; and the Freesoilers from the old democracy with like unanimity; and a very large proportion of the Freesoilers for the sake of Freesoil, like Col. Morse, from the old Whig Party, would be for me. In the Northwestern part of the State and everywhere off the Reserve, such, I have reason to believe, is the state of the popular sentiment.

I am therefore in this singular predicament—tolerably certain that I am the choice of a very large majority of all who look earnestly to the permanency and success of the Free Democracy without any reasonable assurance of support from the professed friends of the same cause in the Legislature.

This is certainly a very unpleasant position to occupy and I am anxious to get out of it. I wish to know either that the reliable Free-soilers in the Legislature wish me to withdraw from all candidacy and all appearance of it, which I will most cheerfully do, or that they will give me a cordial and firm support.

The only two names, as I suppose, thought seriously of by true Free-soilers are mine and Mr. Giddings. Now, if they really prefer Mr. Giddings and believe he can be elected let them take ground at once for him and stick to him. I shall most cordially sustain him, as long as he is faithful to the cause. I believe indeed that, in several respects, my position is one which will enable me to serve the cause more efficiently than he can—meaning by the cause not simply the Anti Slavery cause only but the cause of Free Democracy as defined by our National and State Platforms. My acquaintance and connexions with many influential men in the Slave States; the confidence reposed in me by the New York Democracy, and the Eastern and Northwestern Democracy generally, and the Conscience Whigs, which enabled me to do some service at Buffalo; my familiarity with the *rationale* and practical workings of an independent organization on a great scale, give me, I think, some advantages over Mr. Giddings whose political life has been spent in the Whig Party; whose habits are averse to independent organization, separated entirely from Whig ideas and Whig connexions; and who has only been accustomed to the *rationale* and practical workings, if I may so speak, of the single body of which he is a member. Besides I see nothing to gain by electing him, but rather a loss to the cause. The only effect will be to transfer him from the House to the Senate. In the House he already enjoys every advantage he could possess in the Senate, unless we take into account the trivial difference of distinction—an object unworthy of a generous ambition. In fact he enjoys greater advantages in the House, than he could in the Senate. For the place which he fills he is pre-eminently qualified by experience, intellect, and habit. Should he be removed from it, no person can fill it equally well. In the Senate he would not be able to render more important services than several others could render. Still I am far from desiring to underrate him. Hardly any man esteems his services more highly than I do. There is no station to which I would not cheerfully contribute, at the proper time and under proper circumstances to elevate him. Nor do I wish to be considered as in any sense an opponent of his. I merely mention to you—as a friend to a friend—the lights in which the matter actually appears to me. Make what deductions you think right.

All that I ask is to have the reliable Free-soilers take a position and relieve me. Mr. Giddings writes Mr. Vaughan that he wishes my election if he cannot be elected and that he has written Col. Morse to the same purport. I wish Mr. Giddings elected if I cannot be. Col. Morse told me he did not believe Giddings could be elected, and has written me to the same effect. Now if this be so—either through indisposition of the Whigs to sustain him or the decided preference, under the circumstances of such men as Townshend, Swift and Smart for me, it seems to me

that it should be at once ascertained and a conclusion arrived at. If I understand matters, the whole results of the session to the Freesoil cause turn on a decision of this matter. Mr. Giddings says he does not wish to be a candidate unless the Freesoilers unite on him. Will they do so? If not, ought they not frankly to say so, and advise him of it?

I wish you would ascertain as far as possible the real bearings on this question and let me know the actual state of them: I think it best that this letter be regarded as confidential between us; unless you are of opinion that it had better be shown to Dr. Townshend; to whom I have heretofore confessed freely my feelings. Will there be a freesoil caucus for Senator? If yes, who will compose it? Whom will they nominate? If no distinct Free Soil caucus of *real* Freesoilers, will there be a Whig Free Soil Caucus? If *such* a caucus nominates Giddings will Morse vote for him? Will Townshend? Will Townshend, in any event? If no distinct [?] caucus of *real* Freesoilers what course will Morse, Townshend, Smart and Swift take? Will the Democrats support me? Do you see Judge Meyers? What is his position? What Van Doren's?

You will I am sure appreciate my feelings. I am more desirous to be relieved from an uncertain position, and one not very desirable on other accounts, than for an election. I can spare the office, having already a more profitable one. But I should feel greatly honored by an election and gratified by the opportunity it would afford me to serve the cause. If elected I should *devote* myself to secure its triumph in 1852: if not elected, I should feel as if the chief responsibility was taken off from me, and, serving the cause faithfully as I have heretofore done, should feel myself at liberty to give my chief attention to professional duties, and the payment of my debts.

Yours faithfully, in gratitude

Mr. Riddle writes me in high terms of you, but says you seem to regard him with more forbearance than favor.—Don't let him think so. Cultivate his friendship. He is a noble fellow.

VII.

[Undated, probably CINCINNATI, February 15, 1849.]

My dear Matthews:

I recd. a despatch this morning from Hamlin to come up immediately. Thinking it related to the affairs of [the] Standard and that my letter to you would supercede the necessity of my coming I telegraphed him to see you and if still thought necessary I would come up. I have written to Townshend today. Please *see him immediately* on getting this; also Hamlin to whom I have also written. You can readily imagine how unpleasant it must be for me to come up at this time: but if it is thought necessary by our friends I will come, and a word will bring me. If I come I wish a room, and advise that one is procured either at the American or Capitol House. Include notice of this in your despatch, then I may know where to go. *The Standard must not stop*, if there is any prospect that I am to be placed in a situation where I can ultimately sustain it, you are fully authorized to act for me.

Thursday Morning.

Yours Ever

VIII.

CINCINNATI, Feb 27, 1849.

I hereby agree in case William F. Giddings shall purchase the establishment, subscription lists, materials etc etc of the Ohio Standard at Columbus of Israel Garrard, for Seven hundred dollars, and give his note for said sum in three equal installments one payable in thirty days, one in 6 months and one in 12 months endorsed by Stanley Matthews, and shall secure said Matthews against the said endorsements by a mortgage, duly executed and recorded, on said establishment, including subscription lists materials etc. etc, that I will indemnify the said Matthews against loss by reason of said endorsements, and in case said Giddings shall fail to pay said notes will pay them myself on receiving to myself or my assigns an assignment of said mortgage.

S: P: CHASE.

For Stanley Matthews
or Israel Garrard
Columbus, O.

IX.

WASHINGTON, March 12, 1849.

My dear Stanley,

I recd. your despatch of the 7th today. and have concluded that it is hardly worth while to answer by telegraph when the mail makes so much better speed.

I have written in full heretofore of the causes which prevented my reaching here in time for an interview with Giddings. I wrote to him immediately and urged him to meet me in Columbus, and also to write me here.

I shall come to Columbus immediately upon the adjournment of the Senate which I hope and expect will take place this week, unless the Legislature shall have adjourned in the meantime. I do hope the Legislature will not adjourn until after every possible effort has been made to secure, *at least*, the repeal of the Hamilton County Division Clauses. It would be in my poor judgment extremely wrong to adjourn, leaving this matter open, to breed rancorous divisions next year, and perhaps introduce scenes of violence and disorder, more painful and humiliating than those of the recent winter. I earnestly hope that the friends of a just and constitutional apportionment will hold out a little longer. I wish I had information from Columbus regularly; but I have received only one number of Medary's paper since I arrived here and very few letters from members.

With great regard,
Yours faithfully,

X.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 5, 1849.

My dear Stanley,

Thanks for your letter. It was the first news received here from Columbus, and it will be acceptable to all our liberal democrats. I hope to hear that Leiter is Speaker and you Clerk. Much as I like Charley Blair, and glad as I should be to promote his interests, I cannot wish him success as against you. I wish Breslin could have obtained the nomina-

tion for Speaker; but Leiter is quite as reliable, I suppose, on all freesoil matters and his nomination is nearly as full a ratification of the action of last winter as Breslin's would have been. Breslin must have patience and courage. If he takes a firm stand for Freedom and the true principles of Democracy, Ohio will confer on him higher honors than he has yet received.

I am right glad that the Free Democrats of the House are organized so well and so harmoniously. Riddle's action toward you does not surprise me at all. Never, even when I thought him most wrong as to myself and Townshend last winter, did I waver in my confidence in his honor and nobleness of heart. Hutchins is a thoroughly reliable man, I know; and I am glad that you give so good accounts of the others.

I am sorry to observe what you say of Randall. I had a conversation this very day with Giddings, in which he told me that Randall took ground before the people last fall in favor of the repeal of so much of the law as relates to the division of Hamilton County; and in answer to my expression of a wish that Swift and Randall should act together, meeting each other on the ground of repealing the law, (after the *prima facie* admission in which, of course, Randall would have no participation) and remitting the election to the people, Giddings said to me that Randall would doubtless take that ground. After this you may imagine I was surprised by your letter. If Randall has suffered himself to be put into leading strings again, by Vaughan, Beaver and that sort, I shall be much disappointed. To be weak, in a great cause, is as bad as to be faithless. In fact faithlessness and weakness generally go together.

• We had a speciman [*sic*] at our Free Democratic caucus tonight. Howe, of Pennsylvania, who voted for Wilmot on the two first days, and for Root on the third, announced, this evening, his purpose to vote for Winthrop tomorrow. The only reason he could find was that he was elected by Whigs and Freesoilers, and owed it to the former [to] vote a part of the time for their candidate. He was very plainly dealt with by Wilmot, Giddings, Allen and others; and, finally, half recalled his purpose. Should he vote for Winthrop the results—or rather the influence of his vote cannot fail to be bad. It will be, so far as he can effect it, a betrayal of Free Soil.

Our friends here are all in good spirits. Tomorrow it is expected that the Democrats will vote every man as he pleases, and that Cobb will be in effect abandoned. Our delegation prefers Potter for Speaker and if the Free Democrats will vote for him he may yet be elected. This will depend on the character of the assurances he may be able to give them. The Senate is doing nothing. I shall rely on you to keep me advised as you promise. Give my truest regards to all friends.

Faithfully yours,

XI.

WASHINGTON, May 6. 1850.

My dear Matthews,

I am so much in default to you, that I could not satisfy myself on receiving this evening your letter of the 3d. without sitting down immediately to a reply. I warn you however that I am too tired and too sleepy to give you anything better than a very dull epistle.

I thank you most sincerely for your kind commendation of my speech. It was delivered under very great disadvantages. You know that I am

not a rousing speaker at best; and on the days which fell to me the first and second scenes between Benton and Foote occurred, which so engaged the attention of every body that I had hardly any chance of attention; and, in fact, received not much. There were some, however, who listened attentively, and among them one or two from whom I least expected such a mark of respect. Besides this division of attention in the Senate, the Foote and Benton stampede produced another effect unfavorable to me. It preoccupied the Telegraph, and consequently the notice of my speech was confined to the most barren generality imaginable. It was not until the speech was published that I found that it had produced any impression. Then, however, it began to be noticed by my brother Senators and by the press, and it is perhaps a sign, from which I may derive some consolation in reflecting upon its first neglect, of its permanent value, that these notices have been increasing in strength of commendation from that time to this.

May 7. I was too sleepy to finish last night. This morning I have taken a long walk and my breakfast; and the sun shines so brightly and the air is so cool and fresh that I *ought* to be in trim for letter writing, but I fear I am not in much better condition than last night. However I shall fill the sheet perhaps.

I am glad to see that you are taking measures to have a German Edition of my speech printed. There was a proposition to print an Edition in German here in a 36 page pamphlet at 1.75 per hundred for an Edition of 10,000 copies: but there was not zeal enough among our friends to accomplish it. By the omission of some unimportant (to German Readers) parts it might be reduced to the compass of 32 pages and afforded at \$1.50 per 100. If you do not succeed in raising the funds necessary to print in Cincinnati—which I would greatly prefer and to which I will cheerfully contribute my full proportion, say 1/10 of the cost or more if you think I ought—perhaps it would be well to raise as large an amount as possible and let it go into a fund for printing here. Printing here has this advantage—that lists of names and the amounts necessary to supply them at \$1.50 per hundred for the Speeches and 25 cents per hundred for directing etc. being remitted to any free democratic member of Congress he will see to having the list furnished and will himself send them under his frank.

Col. Benton is acting nobly in regard to California. But we must not allow our hopes to be too much excited in regard to him. His position in Missouri is peculiar; and he still expects too much from Southern friends. I noticed this long before my election in a conversation I held with him when John Van Buren visited Cincinnati. He, then, found great fault with our Buffalo Movement. Here he has repeated to me the same views. You must not be surprised if after the separate admission of California is achieved he turns round and votes steadily against us on every anti-slavery proposition from the Proviso down, except the simple abolition of Slave trade in the District. I hope for something better to be sure, but I prefer not to expect too much. A great question will grow out of the Texas business—To secure her three or five electoral votes all the Presl. aspirants will agree to give her almost any sum for the relinquishment of her nominal claim. Bartow will go for this. He has already introduced a bill and made a speech. He says privately and publicly that the Texas Title is *good* in law up to 42° North on the Rio Grande. Now I don't believe a word of this. But yet Shields and I

are the only two democratic Senators who have controverted distinctly the Texas pretension and even Shields is willing to give the money for its partial relinquishment. I say, if we are to give money let the whole claim be relinquished from the Nueces westward and northward. I throw out these ideas that you may consider them in their relation to Col. Benton.

I am at this moment deeply engaged in the labor of bringing up my correspondence which sickness in my family, preparation of my speech and other causes has thrown badly into arrears. I mean to devote all the time I can command to a thorough examination of the subject of Western Resources and Western Improvements.

I recd. sometime since a letter from you in relation to a pension. It shared the fate of almost all letters recd. about the same time—postponement. I will look it up however immediately, and, as it is quite impossible for me at this time to give the requisite attention to such matters, will place it in safe hands.

John Tilden is nominated. A good selection, it seems to me, if a nomination was expedient. What do you think of it, and, of the course, proper now to be pursued by the Free Democracy of Ohio?

Yours Cordially,

P. S. I send you Shields speech; also second and complete Edition of mine. I wish you would prepare a strong article and have it published editorially in the Enquirer or Nonpareil, or one for each, sustaining our views on the true democratic positions; and I will aid in giving the articles the largest possible currency, if you send me thirty or forty papers or reps.

XII.

WASHINGTON, May 8, 1850.

Dear Matthews,

The issue is being made up Democracy *v.* Aristocracy. The House has agreed upon 233 as the number for the next House, thus, in great measure, depriving the Free States of the advantages which the new census ought to give them. In the Senate Henry Clay and Lewis Cass lead, under Genl. Foote, the Aristocratic Party—which Mangum, somewhat facetiously today dubbed the Patriotic Party. Clay reported his Omnibus. You will see the assaults on [it] from the south. Much of this is afloat. But it has its effect in inclining such men as Shields and Douglas to go for the hybrid measure. You will see the whole and can judge. Now it seems to me is the time to move decidedly. Can't you get up a great California and Freedom meeting under Free Democratic Auspices. Try it. Let us see whether the spirit which rallied to the support of Van Buren is dead in Cincinnati. It is time to wake up the country.

Yours truly,

XIII.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 13, 1850.

My dear Matthews,

I recd. your letter advising me of a draft of \$50. I shall pay it with pleasure on its appearance. Having paid for the speeches, I don't care about having any collections made to reimburse me. Had the friends of the cause thought fit in the first instance to have the speech translated and

printed for the sake of the cause I should have been gratified; but I don't want them to reimburse any expenditures of mine for the circulation of my speeches or any other. I am obliged to you for the friendly feeling you have manifested in the matter, and greatly obliged to Capt. Roedter for his translation and publication. I shall not be likely to *forget* the friendship of either of you, whether it be ever in my power to give any external proof of my remembrance or not.

Well, things turn up oddly. Townshend in Congress and Morse Speaker. What next? A member of the old line was saying the other day what the democrats would do if the freesoilers in the legislature would not support an old line democrat of [f]ree soil sympathies for the Senate. They would cut the conven[t]ion, he said. "Well" said I, very coolly, "we would do as well as we could without it. Perhaps we could get along as well without you as you can without us. We can take care of ourselves." "The d—l" said he "I think you *have* taken care of yourselves. Here are you in the Senate; Townshend is in Congress and now Morse is elected Speaker!" I could n't help laughing—nor could he. But I didn't think it worth while to remind him what benefits the Old Line democrats had derived from the alliance. The fact is that it will work well for both sides, and best in this, that it will finally bring us together on a truly democratic platform and then for one I care little who has the offices.

Gregory told me he would take hold for a genuine Free Democratic paper when he returned to the City. I believe I explained my idea to you—a weekly first and a daily by and by. He told me, also, he would see Capt. Roedter and see what could be done towards advancing the money the Capt. wants. Won't you ascertain what he has done and let me know. Does the Capt. know that I sent Skinner to Potter but in vain? I do wish he could have such a weekly as the Boston Democratic Standard, and by and by the right kind of a daily. We must have it, if possible.

Hale will be in Cincinnati on Thursday. I hope the Free Democracy will give him a reception that will amaze the Hunkers. He will telegraph from Pittsburgh or Wheeling what boat he comes on to French, (Maynard).

Yours cordially,

Write me often.

XIV.

STATE OF OHIO, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
COLUMBUS, Nov. 19, 1859.

Dear Judge,⁵

Won't you come up and examine the Treasury? I want some capable and upright democrat to do it. I asked Ramsey. He says he wd. but can't. Now don't you decline. I am sorry you are a democrat—in the modern notion of one—but as I can't help that allow me at least to show my personal regard for you and my goodwill for the public interest by calling you into the service of the State for a few days. Come up at once.

Yours truly,

⁵ In 1851 and for several years thereafter Matthews had been one of the three judges of the court of common pleas of Hamilton County.

XV.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Apl. 16. 1863.

Dear Colonel,

Though I am, en necessitate, a poor correspondent, I am not a negligent friend. Your wishes in relation to your resignation were attended to at once; but I found Stanton so much averse to losing good officers that I gave up the attempt to secure its acceptance. And then came your letter saying that you had concluded not to urge its acceptance.

Now I suppose your election as Judge (on which I most heartily congratulate bench, bar and suitors) will make you resign at any rate.

Today I have received a letter from a very active friend in Ohio which contains the following sentences. "*Stanley Matthews could be nominated for governor.* He was your friend; is he now?" The underscoring is the writers.

What do you say to this? Would you like the nomination. I am sure you could adorn the office. Of course I am not indifferent to the point of friendship for me; but it is secondary with me. Fifteen years ago we were at all points one; and the affection I then conceived for you has never grown cold. We were long politically separate, however, and I do not know what changes your personal sentiments may have undergone. Won't you tell me exactly. I should like to be able to give true and intelligent answers to such questions as that of my correspondent.

I am looking anxiously for movement in Rosecrans army. He is one of the few generals commanding important armies in whom I yet retain faith.

Your friend,

XVI.

WASHINGTON, Apl. 14, 1865.

My dear Judge,

The Commr. of Agric. has sent me some seeds, and Sumner has put his name on some envelopes into which they are distributed and I send one to you more as a token of remembrance and a text for a short letter than for any good reason.

Now there is the text; and the sermon I shall forget it—no unusual occurrence.

We all feel very happy here in the prospect of the speedy return of peace. I hear of no rebel and no sympathizer with rebellion who does not consider the insurrection as effectually, though as yet only virtually quelled. Judge Campbell told the President at Richmond that he had expressed this opinion to Davis, Benjamin and Mallory just before they left Richmond, and they were silent. It was the silence of despair.

Now comes the question of reconstruction. I was anxious that it should be provided for in advance eighteen months ago; and my plan was a very simple one. I proposed that the *loyal* citizens should be enrolled, either by voluntary action under a State Committee selected by an open public meeting or by proper persons designated by the military authority; and that the citizens there enrolled should elect delegates to a convention, which should conform the constitution to the principles necessary to preserve future loyalty and peace and so prepare for a full restoration of all the privileges of a loyal state. Of course I contemplated no distinctions between colored and white loyalists. I was not able to get this

plan adopted. And reconstruction has been made almost wholly a military job; with no good results so far. Louisiana is the only result as yet; and there the old secession element is rapidly gaining the ascendancy in consequence of the disfranchisement of the colored loyalists.

And now the President has given a sort of sanction, and a pretty strong one too, to the meeting of the rebel Legislature with a view to its putting itself right by a simple declaration of submission and acquiescence in Emancipation.

This greatly alarms those of us who want the hydra of rebellion killed not scotched; and there are signs of trouble. I hope they will all disappear, but I am uneasy.

I have been holding the Circuit Court in Baltimore. There was little business and that little not important. A strong loyal sentiment prevails. With most of the loyal men it is very intense; and in a good many cases, naturally enough, vindictive. Many however have sons or brothers or other near relations in the rebel armies, and are anxious for complete amnesty. Most of them would be glad to continue slavery.

But I must stop. Please let me hear from you. What are your views of our future? What sentiments prevail in Ohio?

Yours faithfully.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Decline of the West. By OSWALD SPENGLER. Volume II.
Translated by CHARLES FRANCIS ATKINSON. (New York: A. A.
Knopf. 1928. Pp. xii, 508, xxxii. \$7.50.)

In this second volume, bearing the subtitle, "Historical Perspectives", Spengler discusses the origin, development, and significance of many social institutions and instruments, as races, peoples, cities, language, estates, government, money, and machines. He also surveys and compares the chief cultures, giving special attention to the Arabian. His pages teem with suggestion and stimulation for the anthropologist, psychologist, sociologist, economist, linguist, and jurist. Though the historians, particularly in Europe, have honored his work with copious discussion, they have largely ignored the new problems which he sets and the new lines of thought and methods of treatment which he suggests.

To the old question, "What is History?" he gives a new answer in the following passage: "And here I would protest against two assumptions which have so far vitiated all historical thought: the assertion of an ultimate aim of mankind as a whole and the denial of there being ultimate aims at all. The life *has* aim. It is the fulfilment of that which was ordained at its conception. But the individual belongs by birth to the particular high Culture on the one hand and to the type man on the other. . . . His destiny must lie either in the zoological or the world-historical field. 'Historical' man as I understand the word and as all great historians have meant it to be taken, is the man of a Culture that is in full march towards self-fulfilment. Before this, after this, outside this, man is *historyless*. . .". "From this there follows a fact of the most decisive importance, and one that has never before been established: that man is not only historyless before the birth of the Culture, but again becomes so as soon as a Civilization has worked itself out fully to the definitive form which betokens the end of the living development of the Culture and the exhaustion of the last potentialities of its significant existence" (p. 48).

True history thus ends when the culture-soul has lost its creative power, no longer produces new expression-forms, or institutions, as the conventional historian is wont to say. The culture then becomes a civilization; events and all human manifestations are no longer the product of cosmic forces, the unfolding of irresistible destiny, the making actual of something spiritual. "All that remains is the struggle for mere power, for animal advantage *per se*. Whereas previously power, even when to

all appearance destitute of any inspiration, was always serving the idea some way or other, in the late Civilization even the most convincing illusion of an idea is only the mask for purely zoological strivings" (p. 49).

The following statement of when history begins makes clearer his conception of what human phenomena are worthy the historian's attention: "All effectual history begins with the primary classes, nobility and priesthood, forming themselves and elevating themselves above the peasantry as such. . . . *The peasant is historyless.* The village stands outside world-history and all evolution . . . passes by these little points on the landscape . . ." (p. 96). "Only the city, not the village, possesses a soul and has value for the historian. It is a conclusive fact . . . that all great Cultures are town Cultures. . . . Here is the real criterion of 'world-history' that differentiates it with utter sharpness from man's history—*world-history is the history of civic man.* Peoples, states, politics, all arts and all sciences rest upon one prime phenomenon of human being, the town" (p. 90).

Having seen where true history begins and ends, let us now note with what aspects of civic life the historian should be primarily concerned. "True history is not cultural in the sense of being anti-political, as the philosophers and doctrinaires of all commencing civilizations assert. On the contrary, it is breed history, war history, diplomatic history, the history of being-streams in the form of man and woman, family, people, estate, state, reciprocally offensive and defensive in the wave-beat of grand facts. *Politics in the highest sense is life and life is politics*" (p. 339).

The prevalent conceptions of people and race he summarily rejects, declaring that they have vitiated the scientific picture of history during the nineteenth century, and then presents his own idea of a people. "For me the people is a unit of the soul. The great events of history were not really achieved by peoples, *they themselves created the peoples.* The 'Americans' did not immigrate from Europe; they are, however, a people in the true sense of the word, whose specific character was born in the spiritual upheavals of 1775, and above all, 1861-'65. This the one and only connotation of the word, 'people'. Neither unity of speech nor physical descent is decisive" (p. 165). "A people is an aggregate of men which feels itself a unit" (p. 160).

Spengler essays the rôle of prophet and this second volume, like the first, contains many dark predictions. The world, for example, is doomed to war and Caesarism. "The way from Alexander to Caesar is unambiguous and unavoidable, and the strongest nation of any and every Culture, consciously or unconsciously, willing or unwilling, has to tread it." "From the rigor of these facts there is no refuge. The Hague Conference of 1907 was the prelude of the World War; the Washington Conference of 1921 will have been that of other wars" (pp. 430-431). Democracy will fail because of general indifference to public affairs and civic obligations. "This failure is the end of the great politics. The

conflict of intelligences that had served as a substitute for war must give place to war itself in its most primitive form" (p. 432).

Spengler has an original and fruitful mind, with a profound insight which penetrates to unfathomed depths of meaning in social phenomena and pours out a flood of new suggestions concerning their relations. He proceeds always with a powerful sweep of thought and an all-inclusive grasp of facts which mark the giant intellect, a coördinating and synthetic mind of the highest order. Many of his conclusions, however, are so metaphysical and mystical in character, as to lie in the realm of faith; they can be neither proved nor refuted. Some of these doctrines it is exceedingly difficult to accept, as, for example, his denial of causality in history, his assertion that one series of events follows another because of inherent necessity, as the flower grows from the seed. We can not believe, furthermore, that Western civilization has already lost its creative power. True it is that no great art, music, or philosophy are now being produced. But in the fields of natural science and invention, of organization for manufacture and distribution, and of social idealism, the West undeniably possesses creative power of great fertility. Nor can we accept his conclusion, founded though it be on a comprehensive study of the past, that Western civilization is necessarily predestined to stagnation and petrification. There are too many profound differences between the culture of the West at present and those of the Orient in the remote past to warrant such a prophecy.

Mr. Atkinson has done the work of translation with noteworthy talent, knowledge, and patience, and deserves the praise and gratitude of American and English scholars.

EARL E. SPERRY.

Our Father's Faith and Ours. By DAVID S. SCHAFF, D.D., Lecturer on American Church History in Union Theological Seminary. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1928. Pp. x, 680. \$4.50.)

THIS book is the result of an exhaustive study of the contrast between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant sects. The treatment is in three parts, historical, doctrinal and sacramental, and social and moral. Starting with the historical cleavages between the Greek and Roman churches and between Catholicism and Protestantism, the author points out the irreconcilable attitude of the Roman church. Then he sets forth the contradictory beliefs on the authority of the canons, creeds, and catechisms, and summarizes the doctrinal controversies chronologically. The Reformation and its causes are discussed, with a chapter on the personality of Luther, and the Catholic strictures on the revolt.

After the historical sketch is completed in about 140 pages, chapters follow on the place of tradition, the Bible—with a convenient and scholarly summary of the historic attitude of the Catholic Church towards the use of the Scriptures—the church and its functions, the papacy, with

the theory of Petrine origin, and the modern elaboration of the doctrine of infallibility. The sacraments are treated in succession, with considerable space given to the doctrine of transubstantiation and to the history of penance. The theory and history of marriage, purgatory, Mariolatry, the saints, images, and relics, are passed in review.

The third part of the book sketches the history, both Catholic and Protestant, of religious freedom and the relation of church and state. The most recent history is included, and the author reminds the reader of the place which America has played in the history of religious freedom. He cites Governor Smith of New York, and objects to the Catholic claim that the popular form of American government is indebted to the writings of Cardinal Bellarmine. The difficulties of the question of education and marriage are faced, and the much mooted subject of Jesuit moral principles. The book ends with a comparison of the attractions of the Catholic system—its antiquity, visible authority, unity, and Christian symbolism—and the Protestant excellences of love of truth, the rights of the individual, liberty of conscience, the progress of Christian countries, the priestly standing of the laity, and the simplicity of worship.

This somewhat detailed survey of the contents may give an idea of the thoroughness with which the author has planned his work, and the continual reference to his sources shows its scholarly character. The comparative method of discussion makes it difficult to avoid an appearance of bias, and the writer has been betrayed here and there into an expression of personal opinion, which is hardly in keeping with the historical character of the book. This appears on page 11, where he says: "Protestants will never consent to be treated as sectaries outside the true church", and again on page 375, where he asks: "Where is there a case in the New Testament of a priest giving absolution of sin or the remotest hint of such a thing?" The soft pedal is put on Protestant vandalism on page 114. An early chapter might well have explained the legitimate development of Catholicism out of the early Christian church, and a sympathetic statement of the values in Catholicism should have preceded the abuses catalogued in chapter three. These are not glaring faults, but they make it plain that the book is written by a Protestant. On the whole the contrasts are drawn fairly, and the author restrains himself many times when critical judgment might seem permissible in stronger terms.

It is almost impossible to avoid slips in such a book. The spelling of Thomas Aquinas as Aguinas (p. 152) and ratification as ratifiation (p. 321) escaped the proof-reader. The date of 1200 for the beginning of the work of the Waldensians is too late, even as a round number. The title of the well-known tract of Roger Williams was "The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution", not "Conscience". The typographical excellence of the book is marred by the inexcusably small type of the table of contents. But with these slight imperfections the book is worthy of author and publisher. At certain points the comparison is particularly good. On page 145 Protestantism and Catholicism are placed side by

side and compared, first in general and then with a detailed characterization that is sane and discriminating. Again on the last page of the text the possible promotion of fellowship between Catholics and Protestants is outlined succinctly and happily. On the whole the student should be grateful that the large amount of material thus classified is made so available for ready reference.

HENRY K. ROWE.

The Persian Gulf: an Historical Sketch from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century. By Lieutenant-Colonel SIR ARNOLD T. WILSON, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. Pp. xvi, 327. 25s.)

SIR ARNOLD WILSON is a retired lieutenant colonel of the Indian Army who spent many years in the region around the Persian Gulf, first in the British and Indian government service and later as general manager of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. He was, for example, acting consul at Mohammerah in 1912 and civil commissioner in Iraq from 1918 to 1920, and it fell to his lot after the World War to organize the administration of that country in the face of a serious Arab revolt. He does not tell us this in his book, but his services are a matter of record and his achievements are still remembered in Bagdad. "We have anticipated", he merely says (page 273), "in spirit and in fact, in the Persian Gulf more perhaps than anywhere else, those principles to which the mandatory system, under the League of Nations, has given solemn sanction. That we have done so lies not in any exceptional wisdom in British methods of government, but in the fact that the instruments by whom the system is worked have been peculiarly adapted for the business in hand. The British Empire, as remarked by Lord Rosebery, 'rests on men'." Sir Arnold is obviously one of them, and yet his enthusiasm as an empire-builder does not warp his impartial judgment.

Our author would therefore seem to be eminently qualified to deal with his subject were it not for the fact that the book is primarily a history. Now Sir Arnold would be the last person to claim to be a trained historian and he had the good sense to invite the collaboration of Mr. H. W. Mardon, formerly of the Egyptian education department, who wrote the chapters on the early history and the Middle Ages.

Sir Arnold Wilson deserves much credit for his method of treating the Persian Gulf as a unit. For here is an inland sea of nearly 100,000 square miles whose central position made it one of the great highways between the East and the West and the picturesqueness of whose history has been equalled by but few parts of the world. Copious quotations from Arrian, Strabo, Pliny, etc. (one from Arrian on page 20 is inadvertently repeated on page 38, though in a slightly different version) show that the customs of the native races around the Gulf have not changed much during the last 2000 years. The famous pearl fisheries of Bahrein and the "liquid asphalt"—in the regions which later became

rich oil fields—were already known to the ancients. Nearchus, commanding the fleet which Alexander the Great sent from India to the Euphrates (326 B.C.), brought the first authentic information concerning the Gulf to Europe and most of the places he mentions can be identified.

After that, with the exception of Trajan's expedition to the Persian Gulf (c. 116 A.D.), no event of outstanding importance is recorded until we come to the overthrow of the Persian Empire by the Arabs in the seventh century A.D. The Arabs were great travellers and soon became the middlemen for the trade between Europe, India, and China. Portugal was the first European nation to take an active interest in the Gulf. After capturing Hormuz early in the sixteenth century they were paramount for over a hundred years also at Basra and Muscat. But they were never very popular with the Orientals, and their weakness on the sea and inefficient trading methods soon caused their decline. The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch who first established themselves at Bandar Abbas and played an important rôle until the middle of the eighteenth century when they, in turn, had to yield to the British.

England, though temporarily eclipsed by the more spectacular exploits of the Portuguese and often underbid and outwitted by the thrifty Dutch, had been steadily forging ahead ever since the East India Company (c. 1600) and her traders and adventurers in Persia had pointed the way. The East India Company established a "factory" near Jask on the Gulf of Oman and as early as 1622 helped the Persians to expel the Portuguese from Hormuz. The remainder of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries were taken up with a fierce struggle with the Dutch, and no sooner had British sea-power asserted itself than the French appeared to dispute it. During the Seven Years' War a French squadron destroyed the British "factory" at Bandar Abbas, which obliged the British to move to Basra, *i.e.*, from Persian to Turkish territory. (Nelson, incidentally, served in the Persian Gulf as a midshipman in 1775.)

This shifting of their position had as an important result the development of a fairly safe and speedy overland route from Basra to Aleppo (Syria) which was much used by traders and travellers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The monopoly of the East India Company ended c. 1800, and thenceforth the political history of the Persian Gulf was largely controlled by the government of India and, though less directly, from Downing Street. Throughout the nineteenth century the Gulf was an important pawn in the international rivalries of the Great Powers. During the Napoleonic wars the French government sent out several mysterious missions and agents which, on the whole, were rather successful in counteracting British influence. Twice (1838 and 1856) Great Britain was obliged to take warlike measures against Persia because of the latter's interference in Afghan affairs. Russia, in her historic quest of a "warm water port",

cast longing eyes across a feeble and defenseless Persia and actually caused England to seek in vain to interest Bismarck in Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf to check the threatening Russian expansion southward! But it was not until the Russian danger was practically eliminated as far as Great Britain was concerned, that the Germans seized the idea with avidity and entered into the combination with the Young Turks which ultimately helped to precipitate the Great War.

Unfortunately, Sir Arnold Wilson breaks off at this interesting point because of "the limitations imposed upon the writer by virtue of his long official connection with the Persian Gulf". It is very much to be hoped that he will some day complete his narrative. In fact, one can not help but feel that at least one chapter could have profitably been added to the present volume without divulging any state secrets.

Whatever the motives may have been, the civilizing effect of British influence in the Persian Gulf is undeniable. For centuries Arab rule had been synonymous with piracy and a particularly obnoxious form of slave trade flourished until the British abated both nuisances. Moreover, an illicit traffic in arms on a large scale—backed by French and German traders—threatened towards the end of the nineteenth and in the beginning of the twentieth centuries to encourage lawless Arab, Persian, and Afghan tribes to rise by furnishing them with modern rifles (Sir Arnold might have mentioned in this connection the Hague Court Decision of 1905 *re* Mascat dhows, *i.e.*, native craft which, under the protection of the French flag, had been engaged in gun-running). The British were the first to establish a regular steamship line on the Tigris (1861) and the same company is still operating. The first cable to Jask was opened in 1868, and today the Gulf is served by a system of cables, wireless stations, and land telegraphs, which might well be the envy of more advanced regions. It has also become an important section of the British air route to India, but our author is silent on this subject.

The value of the book is enhanced by a comprehensive bibliography—prepared by Mr. Mardon—although the place of publication has been omitted in nearly every item. An appendix contains brief but interesting notes on archaeology, botany and zoology, geology, geographic surveys, and even music, which should serve to stimulate further research. The map is adequate and up-to-date.

CORNELIUS VAN H. ENGERT.

Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire. By A. M. DUFF, M.A., B.Litt., Assistant Lecturer in Greek, University of Aberdeen. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. Pp. xii, 252. \$5.00.)

"THIS work is a revised and amplified edition of a thesis submitted to Oxford University in July 1925 for the degree of Bachelor of Letters. A great part of the material was gathered during a stay of seven months in Rome." I quote these lines from the preface not to discourage the

prospective purchaser, but to call attention to what good results can come out of students' work; for this is in general a very sound and thorough book, and it is written in a style that reveals an unusually penetrating and orderly mind. To be sure it does not contain much that is strikingly new. The central idea is credited to an essay that appeared in this *Review* in 1916, the intricate legal detail is largely drawn from a study of Buckland, and most of the data could be found in other studies if one delved through a hundred volumes. But Mr. Duff has read his original sources with an alert judgment, and any one who has done that in this large field has given many times "seven months" to the task. He offers some valuable statistics drawn from a careful reading of the *Corpus* of inscriptions, he discusses reasons for manumission more adequately than has been done before, and he gives an unusually helpful survey of the imperial policy toward freedmen.

The first chapter, which discusses the slave-market, is perhaps the weakest. One should hardly mention enslavement of debtors during the empire, nor assume that Roman wars always supplied the most important markets. Not enough attention is given to the westward shift of the old slave-supply at the time when Greece was falling into decay, to the breeding of slaves, and to the supply that was brought in from beyond the boundaries of the provinces when the empire was at peace. On some of these points the dissertation of M. E. Park on *The Plebs in Cicero's Day* should have been consulted. It is also erroneous to mention Roscius, the actor, and Antinous as freedmen, to call Greek-speaking slaves "Greek" when in fact very few real Hellenes were ever in servitude at Rome, and to assume that Caesar's requirement of free laborers on pastoral estates remained in force during the empire. Finally, the dogmatic conclusion that "it was because the giants of the past had given way to a bastard brood that the final catastrophe came" is one of the few signs of immaturity in the book. Bastard is a hard word to apply to some of the fine fellows that Mr. Duff has discussed in this book. That a thoroughgoing racial change had something to do with the "catastrophe" is probable enough, but it is also evident that the brutalizing of the new stock by grinding it through the mill of slavery, and the rapidity of the process which prevented a fruitful assimilation, should rather be emphasized than the nature of the "brood". However, the book fills a real need. Mr. Duff should be encouraged to continue his investigations in this field, to include the Republic in his survey, and in a second edition to provide the exhaustive study which this important subject deserves and which he is excellently qualified to write.

TENNEY FRANK.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians. By the late J. B. BURY, D.Litt., LL.D. (London: Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. xi, 296. 25s.)

If there is any one topic in Medieval history upon which it is difficult to say anything new, it is perhaps the barbarian invasions. The scanty source material is sufficiently familiar and well worn. There have, however, been few books in English of a handy size and convenient length devoted specifically and exclusively to this theme, and therefore the volume before us for review may meet a certain need, especially in the class-room. Assuredly if any recent historical writer in English was eminently qualified to deal with this theme and the period from 375 to 575 A.D., it was the late regius professor of modern history in the University of Cambridge, and this book gives us his own class-room lectures on the subject. As their present editor warns us: "These lectures, of course, contained little or nothing which was not being incorporated in greater detail and with an elaborate apparatus of notes and references in the larger works which were being produced simultaneously with them. They did, however, as revised from year to year, present in vivid and memorable form the principal conclusions of much recondite and mature thought." With this last sentence of praise we may also agree. The text, for the most part in short, crisp sentences, is very clear and readable, and the publishers have given us an attractive page with large type and sufficient margins. Indeed, on account of the interposition of fly-leaves before each of the fifteen lectures and of blank spaces before the various subheadings, the volume is even shorter than it at first seems.

Professor Bury views the barbarian invasions largely from the military standpoint, and some may feel that their economic causes and accompaniments have been rather neglected. Much is said of strategy—"Attila had no great strategical talent"—and the importance of such a change as that from the infantry of the Roman legions to the heavy-armed horse of the age of the invasions is emphasized. In view of this it is regrettable that the word "cavalry" is not to be found in the index.

Professor Bury had altered his opinion of the battle of 451 at the *locus Mauriacus* near Troyes, commonly but incorrectly called the battle of Châlons or of the Catalaunian fields, since in 1889 he wrote in his *History of the Later Roman Empire* (I. 176): "If Attila had not been repelled, western Europe might have been converted into a spiritual waste, unspeakably more lost and degraded than Turkey at the present day." In the volume before us he asserts (p. 155), "the battle of the Nedao was an arbitrament far more momentous than the battle of Troyes". Since to many a reader the very name, Nedao, may be unfamiliar, and will not be found by him in such a work of reference as the *Century Dictionary of Names*, should he turn thither for information, it may be explained, quoting page 154, that after Attila's death "in Pannonia near the river

Nedao another battle of the nations was fought, and the coalition of German vassals—Gepids, Ostrogoths, Rugians, Heruls, and the rest—utterly defeated the host of their Hun lords (A.D. 454) ”.

The present reviewer has no inclination to stress the decisiveness either of battles in general or of that fought near Troyes in 451 in particular (see his *History of Medieval Europe*, p. 85). But he is not convinced by Professor Bury's argument that Nedao was far more momentous than Troyes. Bury contends that if Attila had been victorious in 451, “the rule of the Huns in Gaul could only have been a matter of a year or two”. But was not the break-up of Attila's empire after his death also only a matter of time, regardless of whether Nedao was fought or no? And would not a Hunnic victory in 451 have meant at least the end of the Visigothic kingdom? The significance of 451 was the union of Goth and Roman against the Hun, which made possible the occupation of the strategic point of Orleans which in turn made it possible for Aetius—I follow Bury in dropping the diaeresis—and Theodoric to assume the offensive. The very fact that they should dare to do so is enough in itself to make the battle momentous. Bury is quite right in saying (p. 150), “it is essential to realise that the battle of the *locus Mauriacus* was not a battle of despair”; but he should have added that it was a battle of hope. Nedao was but a sequel: Gepids, Ostrogoths, Rugians, Heruls, and the rest were but following the lead which Theodoric and his Visigoths had already given them. Of the year 452 Bury writes (p. 152) “Attila lost little time in seeking to take revenge for the unexpected blow which had been dealt him . . . and invaded Italy in the following year”. But this was a strange revenge to take upon the Visigoths of Aquitaine; he did not invade Gaul again. Or, strictly speaking, it was Cisalpine Gaul that he invaded in 452. He did not enter Italy proper, in the classical sense. 451 was indeed “the unexpected blow” and the dramatic moment, the beginning of the end; 454 was little more than what might be expected.

Professor Bury's discussion of the problem of Stilicho's behavior and inactivity with reference to Alaric is interesting but does not claim to be conclusive. He still accepts the story of Alaric's burial beneath the river-bed, nor is the time-honored tale of Clovis and the vase of Soissons omitted. Rather more emphasis is laid upon the distinction between East and West Germans than is perhaps justifiable in view of the probable shifting of various tribes from one region to the other. Finally may be noted the interesting concluding lecture upon the Lombard Law. Here the increased monetary penalty for homicide and murder is represented as marking an advance in the people's civilization, but since the increase all goes to the king's treasury and not to the kinsfolk of the person killed, it may be doubted if the enactment represents more than an advance in royal power and fiscal extortion.

The points that I have raised are, I believe, an indication of the book's value rather than a hostile criticism of it. It is an attractive re-

telling and reconsideration of the period of invasions which will set the mature reader to thinking and revising his own estimates, while to the younger beginning student it offers a forceful and agreeable approach to the subject.

LYNN THORNDIKE.

The Two Cities: a Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D. By OTTO BISHOP OF FREISING. Translated with an introduction and notes by CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW, Ph.D., LL.D., President of Colorado College. (Records of Civilization, ed. A. P. Evans.) (New York: Columbia University Press. 1928. Pp. xvi, 523. \$10.00.)

THE *Chronicle of Otto of Freising*, known as the *Two Cities*, has for the first time been translated into English. To those who deal with students whose interest in the Middle Ages is insufficient to lead them to acquire a reading knowledge of Medieval Latin, this translation fills a long-felt need. Nowhere else can one put into the students' hands an example of the Medieval interest in epitomes of universal history which has so curious an analogy with the present demand for "outlines".

It is indeed fortunate that the historian chosen as an example of Medieval *Weltgeschichte* should have been Otto of Freising. Professor Evans remarks in the editor's preface that in Otto "were combined the *imperium*, the *studium* and the *sacerdotium*". Born of the imperial family, a student at Paris, a Cistercian monk, a bishop engaged in a long conflict with his advocate over bridge tolls, a traveller, and a crusader, Otto was always in closest contact with the varied movements of his time—a time more than usually out-of-joint. Bishop Otto well represents the conflict which beset reflecting men of the twelfth century. Looking out upon a changing world and seeing much that displeased him and inspired him with grim forebodings of the future, Otto could not but perceive the necessity of a view of the past which would satisfy his religious and political prejudices. Following St. Augustine, his first interest was to prove the growing certainty of the triumph of the heavenly over the earthly city and the ultimate happiness of the blessed. Otto was dominated by the mystical religious enthusiasm of St. Bernard, but he nevertheless had a keen appreciation of the world and an interest in the affairs of the earthly city which sometimes led him unawares to forget his grand scheme in the romance of the past (*e.g.*, his treatment of the life of Alexander the Great). There can be no doubt of his complete theological orthodoxy, and to him opposition to the successor of St. Peter was always a sin, yet his family connection with the Franconian emperors makes many of his condemnations seem half-hearted at best. He fully subscribed to the imperial interpretation of the rights of Medieval Caesars as the heirs of Rome and of the majesty of the ancient order, but he was also an ardent churchman. This difficult position unquestionably colored his views on the struggles of his grandfather Henry IV. and his account

of the Concordat of Worms. One is never allowed to forget the real purpose of the Chronicle, but chance references show many of the current interests of his time. Among these are references to Aristotle, the Byzantine Empire, India, Sicily ("the nurse, first of the Cyclopes and afterwards of tyrants, even down to the present day", p. 175), the beginnings of the national rivalry of the French and the Germans, the constant quarrelling of the Italian cities (Lucca and Pisa). He had a keen sense of historical honesty. He checked his sources by personal observation wherever possible, and profited by personal contacts with travellers, notably with his friend the bishop of Jébeil. He doubted many of the legends of the Church. In a conflict among his authorities he was content to present all points of view without attempting any decision, especially on the matter of chronology. Herein lies much of the usefulness to which the translation will be put in college classes, not only for the contemporary material set forth, but even more, for the whole outlook which made Otto feel the near approach of the end of the world and of the coming of Antichrist.

President Mierow has used the definitive edition of the Chronicle by Hofmeister, published in the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum*. He has taken over bodily much of the apparatus of Hofmeister, which is fully acknowledged, but he has added references to the *Cambridge Medieval History* which will be of assistance to the younger student. The introduction, taking up Otto's background, biography, literary work, historical outlook, political, and theological views, is the result of much careful study of the recent literature on the subject. The bibliography, rather inconveniently placed between the introduction and the text, contains a list of all the editions of the Chronicle and of the special articles on Otto.

The translation itself follows the text with great care, even to attempts at rendering Otto's peculiarities of style. The index is somewhat incomplete, a fault mitigated in part by full translation of the chapter headings which appears at the beginning of the Chronicle.

As in all the publications of this series, the proof-reading is excellent. The reviewer has noted only the following errors: p. 138, nintieth; p. 182, Longianus for Longimanus; p. 265, n. 230, privilèges; p. 278, n. 35, 363 for 313; p. 336, line 32, apostrophe omitted; p. 345, throught for thought; p. 356, Châlon-sur-Saône for Chalon-sur-Saône; p. 368, n. 27, Provence; p. 390, Rodoph for Rodolph; p. 408, n. 26, and p. 438, n. 162, commas between the month and the year; p. 462, n. 54, Sitzungsgerichte. The "modern Babylon" of Otto is referred to as Memphis instead of Cairo.

ANDRÉ ALDEN BEAUMONT, JR.

Court Rolls of the Abbey of Ramsey and of the Honor of Clare.

Edited by WARREN ORTMAN AULT, Ph.D., Professor of History, Boston University. [Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts, IX.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. Pp. lvi, 319. \$3.50.)

STUDENTS of manorial history have long known of the unusually valuable collection of court rolls of Ramsey Abbey, Huntingdonshire, which are in the custody of the Public Record Office and British Museum. Maitland chose some of them for publication; they were well known to Round, and they have been used in manuscript by other scholars. Professor Ault, by the publication of an interesting selection of these rolls, has supplemented in an admirable way his earlier work on *Private Jurisdiction*, which was based in large part on the Ramsey material already at that time in print. He has chosen for publication in this later volume examples of the records of each of the various kinds of courts held by the abbey. Most important of them are perhaps the rolls of the honour court of Broughton, which deal with the abbot's military service, the choice of his four knights, homage, suit, and the like, and which show the court occasionally acting in cases of appeal from other courts. The rolls of the honour court of Clare have been added, as a further, and unusually good, illustration of the work of an honour court, and both will be of interest to future students of the organization of great honours—a subject which has not received enough attention. The records of the court of the banlieu of Ramsey, where, as is well known, the abbot exercised an exceptionally high franchisal jurisdiction, and where the "liberties of the realm" and the liberties of the banlieu had to seek adjustment with one another, are of value for study of procedure, of the growth of actions of trespass, of pleas of land within the banlieu. The records of the hundred courts in the abbot's hands and the manor courts are of interest, although the material is a little more familiar. The rolls chosen date from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the time when private jurisdiction was in its heyday.

With limited space at his disposal and a great amount of material available, Professor Ault has probably made a wise decision in giving examples of different jurisdictions rather than a continuous record of a single court. There may, however, be some question of his wisdom in not printing entire the rolls that he has so chosen. We can feel assured that he has not omitted anything that would add greatly to the interest of the actual content, but the question of procedure in royal and private courts is also of considerable importance, and for students of procedure even the dullest list of essoins may have value, as evidence of the law's delays. There is too a satisfaction, perhaps often unreasonable, in the knowledge that the reader has the whole of an historical document before him. The arrangement of the index of persons according to the courts they attended is awkward, and there is no index of places. Again the reader would find it useful to have page references to the text from the

notes in the introduction, and wishes perhaps that the editor had made more frequent use of the convenient *sic* to indicate that the occasional poor Latin in a generally good text is the scribe's, and not a misprint. These are perhaps cavilling criticisms of an ably edited text.

Several matters of a good deal of importance stand out with clearness from the rolls and from the interesting introduction. We have the opportunity to observe the use of royal methods of procedure in private courts of various kinds. As examples, one may cite the procedure resembling the royal *inquest post mortem* in Broughton, and the use of procedural outlawry in the banlieu. The extension of royal justice into private hands must have made many private courts familiar with common law practices, and made easy its extension at the expense of local custom. Again, in matters economic, records like these give evidence of the possible action of village groups apart from lordship, especially in the making of by-laws for agrarian arrangements within the village. The records of the manorial courts are of especial interest in this connection. At Chatteris, for example, in 1289, sworn jurors say that a certain Ralph sold rushes and alders taken from the common *contra statutum de belawe*. The importance of matter like this for economic history needs no commentary, and the light thrown, on the legal side, on the meeting point of royal and private justice amply justifies the publication of such records.

N. NEILSON.

Merton Muniments. Selected and edited for the College by P. S. ALLEN, Hon. Fellow, and H. W. GARROD, Fellow and Librarian. [Printed for the Oxford Historical Society.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1928. Pp. 47.)

It is known that in 1262 Walter of Merton, chancellor of England for several years during the reign of Henry III., was empowered by the Earl of Gloucester to assign his manors at Farleigh and Malden to the priory of Merton. This grant, the "Ordinatio", is not known to be extant; hence the detailed "Founder's statutes for the house of the scholars of Merton, in Maldon, Surrey" (no. II.) of 1264 still remains the nucleus from which the history of the college must emerge. It was Walter's wish that special consideration should be extended to his kinsmen, should any of them be in a position to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by this grant. In the elaborate provisions made in 1264 Walter is definite in stating that he was not entirely committed to Oxford as the only possible centre in which the clerics chosen might pursue their studies. The wording of the grant gives evidence of considerable perspicacity by reserving for the donor the right to make whatever changes time and events would show advisable or necessary. His primary aim in making the grant was to establish a foundation "ad perpetuam sustentationem viginti scolarium in scholis degentium Oxon', uel alibi ubi studium vigere contigerit . . ." (p. 15). In 1274 Walter issued a similar series of statutes which shows, in comparison with the earlier

document, that "times had changed since he first began. The disturbances of the Barons' War had subsided, and the peace of England had been restored. As to the home of the scholars, his mind was now made up"; he here affirms, "fundaui et stabiliui, nunc, pace Anglie reformata ac pristina turbacione sedata, animi stabilitate perpetua approbo, stabilio, et confirmo, locumque sibi habitacionis et domum Oxon', vbi Vniuersitas viget studencium, in meo territorio proprio, ecclesie Sancti Iohannis contermino, concedo et assigno" (p. 21). Unwilling to bind himself unreservedly he adds, as he nears the end of the lengthy document: "Illud quoque insuper est attendendum, quod si locus habitacionis seu scolarium studio vacaturorum congregacio, causis aliquibus emergentibus que facile numerari non possunt, ad locum alium transferatur, nichil eis icirco iuris uel possessionis depereat in predictis maneriis, seu rebus aliis sibi assignatis, uel deinceps ex pia largitione fidelium assignandis; sed omnia eis nichilominus integra remaneant" (p. 26). Since much of the history of the college can be learned from a careful perusal of the two documents of 1264 and 1274, the editors have wisely reproduced them *in extenso* (nos. II. and VI.). A supplement to these is the Bull of Pope Nicholas III. confirming (1280) the foundation of the college; it is here printed in full for the first time (pp. 10-11, without facsimile).

Mr. Allen and Mr. Garrod were confronted with the most difficult task of choosing representative important documents to illustrate the history of the college. The wealth of manuscript material still in the Merton archives and the limits placed upon their volume made the task of selection largely one of exclusion. Aside from the two fundamental grants mentioned above, the larger number of facsimiles reproduces documents dealing with land tenure and property rights. For those interested in the more human aspects of college life attention should be drawn to nos. XIII.-XV., which present the reports of the 'Scrutinies' or chapter meetings of the college for 1338-1339. Brief as these notes are they afford an insight into the activities and corporative life of the Fellows of the house. Does one detect the true scholar in Hetelbury who, alone, speaks "de Libraria reparanda"? And poor Fynemere, whose ceaseless quarrel with Wyly is the talk of many (pp. 33-35, *passim*), worries "quod bacul[arii] discurrunt per g[aneas et tabernas. Item] dicit quod asporta[nt inde vina bibuntque] stantes ad ostium [aule . . .] post prandium et senam cum sociis" (p. 33). And who was the non-committal 'Wantyng' who "semper respondet 'Placet mihi sicut placet aliis'" (p. 34)? These reports of 'scrutinies', peculiar to Merton and not unlike the chapter meetings in monasteries, are filled with interesting bits, for here were reported the misdeeds of the fellows. No. XXII. (in English, dated c. 1620) shows that the lapse of three hundred years had not removed the necessity for disciplinary measures. Many readers will delight in the picture here presented by one Philipson in his "Note of behaviour and buisines betwixt Mr Hawley and myselfe". This was but another occasion when an apple turned the tide of history. No. XXI.

(in English, dated 1584) reproduces an autographed letter of Elizabeth in which the queen recommends the Jew, Isaac de Cardenas, for a Merton fellowship. There are also several lists of books owned by the college or by its members (nos. XXII.–XXVI.).

In publishing these Merton muniments, the Oxford Historical Society adds a volume worthy to be placed in a series already noted for its contributions to the history of Medieval life and institutions. Aside from its scholarly contents, this volume is a work of printer's art which will be welcomed by palaeographers and others interested in Medieval script. The thirty-seven facsimiles contain some splendid examples of calligraphy and cover in time the period between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries. Excepting three in English and three in French, the documents are in Latin.

GRAY C. BOYCE.

The Defensor Pacis of Marsilius of Padua. Edited by C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON, M.A., Fellow and Librarian of St. Johns College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. xlviii, 517. 35s.)

THE appearance of a new, critical edition of the *Defensor Pacis* is an event of the first importance to all students of political institutions. It has long been eagerly looked forward to by everyone who has had to struggle with the scarcely legible and quite uncritical text of Goldast published in 1614. That is itself only a reprint of the Baseler *editio princeps* of 1522, and these are the only previous editions of what has often been described as the most remarkable literary product of the Middle Ages. It has only once been translated into a modern language, and that was in 1535 by the Englishman Wylliam Marshall. So far as we know there is no copy of this incomplete translation in this country.

This singular fate is due partly to the condemnation of the book by the Church, which doubtless caused the destruction of many copies of the manuscript, but partly also to the extreme elaboration, not to say the intolerable verbosity of the style. Not that Marsiglio was in this respect very much worse than his contemporaries. Every writer of the fourteenth century who sought to expound political theory felt bound to go back to Aristotle and to clothe his thought in the formulas of the Aristotelian logic. It is true that Marsiglio often breaks through these trammels and expresses his thought in vigorous phrases of his own, but the ponderous example of the master affects all the work of the followers. Wycliffe and Ockham were as great sinners as Marsiglio, and only angelic patience can avail to bring out the really clear and vital quality of their message.

The present edition begins with a rather sketchy account of the author's life, based upon the scanty materials which have had to serve all previous biographical attempts. Then comes a careful analysis of the manuscripts, following the list given by Dr. James Sullivan in the

English Historical Review for 1905 and discussed by Professor Richard Scholz in the *Neues Archiv* for 1926. The editor accepts Scholz's division of the manuscripts into a "French" and a "German" class and believes that the French is, on the whole, the earlier, amended in various details by the German. As the basis of his new text he selects the manuscript preserved in the chapter library of the cathedral of Tortosa which he accepts as originally belonging to the French class but so largely corrected by several different hands that it may now be considered as the most typical representative of the German. With this he has collated throughout the manuscript of Magdalen College and that of the *Hofbibliothek* in Vienna, noting the variants and comparing also the *editio princeps* and Goldast for parts of the text. The result is that we have now for the first time a really authoritative and usable text of this unique product of a highly important school of political thought.

On the much discussed question of the joint authorship of the *Defensor* by Marsiglio and his Parisian colleague, John of Jandun, Mr. Previté-Orton is discreetly brief and non-committal. He does not doubt that John was in some sense the adviser of Marsiglio, may perhaps have contributed some passages in which his peculiar philosophical skepticism seems to be reflected; but he distinctly rejects the arguments of writers who have attempted to differentiate between the two alleged authors on the ground of marked differences in style and quality. Especially he declines to accept the "ingenious" theory of Miss Marian Tooley (*Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 1906) that John must have written *Dictio* I. because Marsiglio was incapable of a really philosophical approach to the main contentions of *Dictio* II. How do we know he was? The "must have" argument is always dangerous. With all its diffuseness, repetitions, and apparent irrelevancies the movement of the *Defensor* from the general discussion of *Dictio* I. to the closely knit résumé of *Dictio* III. is consistent within itself. We incline to the editor's view that the motive of the *Defensor* is derived from the author's familiarity with the system of the Italian communes with their persistent doctrine of sovereign right residing in the whole body of citizens. It is this which gives it its peculiar value and it is in this view of organized human society that Marsiglio's kinship with Ockham and his philosophy of the individual becomes most evident.

The well-printed text is accompanied throughout by foot-notes giving the variant readings in both manuscripts and editions and also enlightening comments on the author's probable sources of knowledge upon the topic in hand. There are sufficient indexes of proper names, authors referred to, Biblical quotations, and subjects.

E. EMERTON.

Two Medieval Satires on the University of Paris: La Bataille des VII Ars of Henri d'Andeli and the Morale Scolarium of John of Garland. Edited with renderings into English by Louis John Paetow. [Memoirs of the University of California, vol. IV., nos. 1 and 2.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1927. Pp. 258 and 14 plates. \$5.00.)¹

PROFESSOR PAETOW has long been known as one of the most active and competent scholars in the field of Medieval intellectual history. During the eighteen years that he has been connected with the University of California he has not only produced historical works of importance—of which his *Guide to the Study of Medieval History* (1917) is a conspicuous example—but he has stimulated a large amount of scholarly interest in his field on the part of his graduate students. It is therefore fitting that these two “satires” should come out in the series of Memoirs of the University of California. The first was published separately in 1914; the second is now (1927) published for the first time. They have been bound together with a foreword which calls attention to the bond which exists between them as they are both written by humanists at the University of Paris near the middle of the thirteenth century. Their authors waged an unsuccessful war against the growing emphasis on scholastic logic and philosophy, and plead for a study of the classical languages and literatures. In this respect—as precursors of the Renaissance—they tried to do for Humanism what Roger Bacon, as a precursor of the rise of modern science, tried to do for the sciences at the same university and at about the same time.

Professor Paetow's treatment of each satire includes an historical introduction with sketch of the author's life and works, followed by the Latin transcript of the poem with English translation and full critical notes, and in conclusion—in addition to an excellent index—photostat facsimile copies of manuscripts of the two works. These latter are complete for both known manuscripts of *The Battle*, and give folios 2, 6, 10, and 11 of the Bruges manuscript of the *Morale Scolarium*.

It will be seen that the publication is complete from the standpoint of giving the scholar full information regarding the subject in hand. The presswork is in every way worthy of the subject and its scholarly treatment.

As the first of the satires—*The Battle of the Seven Arts*—has long been known to scholars and was described in volume XX. of this review (p. 224) attention will be concentrated in the present article on the *Morale* of John of Garland, especially as the detailed contents of this work—heretofore only in manuscript—are now made available to the public by the collation of all the known manuscripts with their glosses. These manuscripts are at Bruges, Gonville and Caius College (Cam-

¹ This volume received the Edward Kennard Rand Prize in Mediaeval Studies for 1928.

bridge), Lincoln Cathedral, the Bodleian Library, and the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Professor Paetow shows that its author was born about 1195—considerably later than generally supposed; that he studied at Oxford University where one of his teachers was John of London; that he then studied and taught at the University of Paris; that he was one of the original group of teachers (1229) at the University of Toulouse, but returned to Paris when the “Great Dispersion” was over in 1232; and that he remained there as teacher and author until his death—about 1272 or later. Although critical of the university’s absorption in scholasticism, and interested in a revival of interest in the natural sciences and the humanities—especially the latter—he was devoted to his *alma mater* and believed that in its westward course Paris, succeeding Athens and Rome, was destined to become the seat of the muses.

John of Garland’s great effort was “to stem the tide of new learning [*i.e.*, Aristotelian Logic and Scholasticism] which was overwhelming the study of Latin language and literature. . . . Above all, John of Garland was a schoolmaster who sought to make his students learn more and better Latin than was so glibly used in the Universities of his day” (pp. 102, 104). But Professor Paetow confesses that the critics are right in the condemnation of his Latin style. As a poet he ranks low, but as a grammar teacher and a moralist high—while as a chronicler of the facts of history, and as an open-minded student of the world of men and of nature about him he was well ahead of his generation.

His works—almost all written while he was connected with the University of Paris—are very numerous, being about fifty in number, and show the variety of his interests. They include:

Literary works, such as the *De Triumphis Ecclesie*, which is considered by the editor to be “the most important and most interesting” of his works “from the view point of modern scholarship” (p. 110)—a long epic poem celebrating the victory of the Church in the Crusades, works on grammar and rhetoric, such as the unpublished *Compendium Grammaticæ*, his chief grammatical work “with which he hoped to displace the *Doctrinale* and the *Grecismus*” (p. 120), word-books, including the *Dictionarius*, one of his earlier books—written about 1220—and containing the first use of the word “dictionary” (p. 129); moral and religious works, such as the *Summa Poenitentie*, a brief manual of confession which seems to have been popular for a couple of centuries; mathematical and miscellaneous works.

Professor Paetow dates the *Morale Scolari* definitely in 1241. He considers it specially valuable because “it comes directly from the University of Paris in its formative period” (p. 106). The work—of which the editor gives an admirable paraphrase—begins with a prologue including these words (p. 154): “This little work is not written in an ornate style, but, in order that it may not seem contemptible, it has been composed in Leonine hexameters for God does not forbid the use of literary art to glorify his name. Thus he has provided both philosophers

Bruneau: Chronique de Philippe de Vigneulles 575

and prophets, the former to endow the church with the beauties of the Latin language, the latter to witness the truth. In this satirical treatise morality is contrasted with faults, urbanity with rusticity; the mysteries of theology are touched upon here and there; the causes of certain natural phenomena are elucidated so that the crudity of scholastic life may be eliminated."

The general character of its contents may be seen from the following chapter titles: A Plea for Morality and the Liberal Arts (ch. I.); A Plea for Urbanity and Religion (ch. II.); Concerning Table Manners (chs. IX. and XVI.); Reflections of a Student in Accordance with the Opinion of Seneca and concerning the Scholastic Life (ch. X.); In Praise of the Modest Life of Scholars (ch. XII.); and Advise to Read Worthy Books rather than Certain Useless Modern Works (ch. XIV.). This section is specially valuable for its attack on the text-books of the time. "Woe on us, for day and night the devil is attempting to stultify the University of Paris! . . . The *Doctrinale*, which closes the way to true learning, employs poor Latin full of tautology; it retards bright students and does not encourage hard work to perfect their Latin . . . it would be better to do away with the *Doctrinale* and *Grecismus* which deviate from the way of Priscian. This error in the University of Paris should be rectified while there is still time to do it; a law should be passed to revive the ancient classics which have fallen into desuetude" (pp. 166, 167).

How Students Should Behave (ch. XXX.) includes the following advice (p. 175): "Avoid drunkards, those who indulge in secret sin, those who like to beat and strike, those who love lewdness, evil games, and quarrels. Passing a cemetery, if you are well-bred, and if you hope for salvation, you pause to pray that the dead may rest in peace. Have nothing to do with the prostitute, but love your wife; all wives should be honored but especially those who are distinguished by virtue. A person who is well should not recline at table in the fashion of the ancients. When you walk after dinner keep on frequented streets, avoid insincere speeches. Unless you wish to be considered a fool learn to keep your mouth shut in season. Stand and sit upright, do not scratch yourself."

One puts down this volume feeling grateful to its editor and translator. There is nothing to criticize in his work unless it be a tendency to be so vivid and modern as to be occasionally almost "jaunty". However this is a bit refreshing in a work of critical scholarship.

ANSON PHELPS STOKES.

La Chronique de Philippe de Vigneulles. Éditée par CHARLES BRUNEAU, Professeur à l'Université de Nancy. Tome I., *De la Création du Monde à l'An 1324*. (Metz: Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de la Lorraine. 1927. Pp. xxii, 382.)

In 1486 Philippe de Vigneulles, the son of a prosperous burgher of Metz, ran away from home at the age of fifteen to try his fortunes in Italy. After three adventurous years spent largely in Naples, he yielded

to filial piety and came back. Soon he became a rich cloth merchant with a business which often took him to Paris and elsewhere. Interested in the arts, he exhibited in 1507 a masterpiece of drapery and in 1513 devised in honor of St. James a fête "the most beautiful ever seen in Metz". The episodes of his life he narrated in a *Journal*, which illuminates contemporary history to 1520 and which was well edited in 1852. While writing the *Journal* he put together an account of the origins of Metz and at length decided to combine the two. The result is the chronicle before us, extending from the beginning of the world to the year 1525.

Linguistically the work is of interest. Avoiding the learned and artificial manner of the schools, Philippe wrote in the simple style of a cloth merchant, thereby giving a rare example of French as it was then spoken. For the student of the Lorraine dialect there is evidence of local pronunciation and there are innumerable Lotharingian phrases. The editor promises a special study of Philippe's language.

In the volume now published he confines himself to carefully editing the text and prefixing a brief but excellent introduction. He also reserves for further study an extended examination of Philippe's sources. A scholarly edition was much to be desired, both for comparison with the *Journal* and because the existent edition (Huguenin, *Les Chroniques de la Ville de Metz*, 1838) is one which exasperatingly combines Philippe's chronicle with others and modifies the style and orthography of all of them.

The subject-matter of the chronicle divides itself into what the author knew from personal experience and what he copied from written sources. While the former is of great value, it is not reached in the volume now issued, which extends only to 1324. His Medieval narrative Philippe copied sometimes verbatim, sometimes without reference, sometimes with citation. Latin works, which he could not read, he had to have translated. Upon the *Compendium* of Robert Gaguin (d. 1501), who continued the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, he often relied. From Robert, for example, he learned that Godfrey of Bouillon in setting out on his crusade sold his duchy to the bishop of Liège for 1300 marks of silver and to the citizens of Metz their liberties for a great sum. Metz naturally becomes the centre of European history, its bishops the leading figures, and St. Bernard's contribution the settlement of a quarrel between the citizens of Metz and the lords of Lorraine.

Apart from showing what was the local knowledge of and interest in Roman and German emperors and French kings, this first instalment of the chronicle is most valuable in incorporating documents touching the early government of Metz. These enumerate the rights which the bishop had in the city, the rights which the emperor had, the rights and duties of the "maistre eschevin", an official created in 1170, the functions of the Thirteen Lords (les seigneurs Trèzes) and of the "amans". All these functionaries have been described by Prost in *Les Institutions Judiciaires dans la Cité de Metz* (1893). The texts have been available before but

not always in satisfactory form. Professor Bruneau carefully collates Philippe's text of the bishop's rights with what he considers the oldest text and elsewhere corrects him. Finally he annotates Philippe's list of early thirteenth-century tolls imposed in Metz, heretofore available only in the Benedictine history of the city (1769). As a result of careful editing, even this otherwise not very important part of Vigneulles's chronicle assumes significance for the historian of the judicial and economic life of Medieval towns. The later part of the work will appeal to a wider circle of readers.

H. L. GRAY.

Histoire de Rome: le Pontificat de Jules II., 1503-1513. Par E. RODOCANACHI. (Paris: Hachette. 1928. Pp. 196. 60 fr.)

THE veteran writer on Renaissance Italy, as it appears to the amateur of its pageants and its personalities, gives us what must be intended to be the political background of his study of *Rome au Temps de Jules II. et Leo X.*, which appeared in 1911 and was concerned with the artists and men of letters of that eventful period. The qualities of the present work are those of the earlier ones; these have appeared at the rate of three or four a decade since 1888 and have been marked by scrupulous attention to authorities (with which his acquaintance is extensive for works in French and Italian); serene indifference to controversial matters; absence of relief from the even plain of his landscape; and a presumable wish to please the average reader. His conception of history, too, is apparent in them—unless indeed their annalistic character is due to the influence of the diaries and chronicles he has studied.

It is doubtful if a reader not familiar with the subject would arrive, with the aid of the author alone, at an adequate conception of the bellicose successor of Alexander VI., advancing upon the rebellious princes of the papal patrimony to repeat the exploits of Cesare Borgia, *condottiere* like himself, but seeking to establish the greatness of his house where Julius aimed at the consolidation of the territories of the Holy See. Of motive, there is no word; but perhaps it is imagination which sees in the determination to overthrow Venice and France the antipathy of the Genoese toward the old rival and the new subjector of his native land. Rodocanachi has a larger conception of Julius. "Le pape Jules II. domine son époque. . . . A côté des médiocres souverains qui l'entourent, lui seul fait figure de chef d'État." He passionately loved art and encouraged artists; he transformed Rome, not only by the monuments he erected but also by peopling it with sculptors, *littérateurs*, and able artisans, preparing the way for Leo X., whose reign he made possible. But no fresh viewpoint or spark of intuition helps one here to see as a whole the tapestry of alliances between the Treaty of Blois in 1504 and the expulsion of France from Italy by the Holy League, third of the coalitions which, according to the author, "formed and dissolved" at the papal will. A certain lack of imagination leaves one with the impression that Ranke's

narrative is vastly more entertaining and certainly just as informative, though it is more than a century since the appearance of the *Geschichte der Romanischen und Germanischen Völker*. But not even Ranke suggests that the new combinations are the necessary consequences of the old ones inaugurated by the Peace of Lodi and given a new character by the French invasions, which made Louis of France instead of Lodovico Sforza duke of Milan, substituted a new Ferdinand of Aragon for the old one, and transformed the Medici patriciate into the Florentine Republic of Machiavelli.

The author is at his best when describing the topography and reconstructing the Rome which both Erasmus and Luther visited during the pontificate of Julius II., but this he had already described at length in the earlier work to which reference has been made. Chapter III. is concerned with *La Vie à Rome de 1503 à 1507* and chapter V. with *La Cour et la Ville*. Here he generally refrains from indulging his penchant for translating the names of familiar sites from Italian into French. Not always, for we have "S. Marie Majeure" and "S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini". As for "Château-Neuf", imagine writing, in an English book, "Newcastle" for the Castelnuovo with its dark secrets.

The contemporary authorities used are the ones which have done yeoman service in books of this kind. Paris de Grassi (amiable successor of Burchard) leads; but there are also Guicciardini, Machiavelli, and Sanuto (who is not mentioned in the bibliography). Of more modern authorities, Ranke is not cited; and though Reumont, Gregorovius, and Pastor find place in the bibliography, they seem to have played little part in the composition. Of the problems which justify a book on this subject, something has been shown by Fueter in his *Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems*; and if "not only the history of Rome, but of Italy and of Europe is identified with that of Julius II.", as Rodocanachi says, we could certainly hope for a better acquaintance with general politics from his book than we already have. It is precisely for this period that special treatises like Gagliardi's *Anteil der Schweizer an den Italienischen Kriegen* could be used with advantage.

We have a book that is at any rate most satisfactory to the eye, and the reviewer has found only two insignificant misprints, "Nino da Fiesole" and "Muratoni".

FREDERIC C. CHURCH.

Emanuele Filiberto: IV. Centenario di Emanuele Filiberto e X. Anniversario della Vittoria Torino MCMXXXVIII. Anno VI. (Turin: S. Lattes and Company. 1928. Pp. xxxii, 492. 50 lire.)

THIS handsome volume seems at first sight a *Festschrift* with the definite motive of reminding Italians that the foundations of the Italy of Mussolini were laid by the ancestors of Vittorio Emanuele. Filiberto restored the fortunes of the House of Savoy, which had collapsed under

the double impact of the religious reform and the Italian wars of the sixteenth century, and welded into a state the fragments recovered with difficulty from France and Spain. At Cateau-Cambrésis the King of Spain restored to a position of power the dynasty which was to effect the expulsion of his descendants from Italy. The association in the title of the book of the victor of St. Quentin with the victory of Vittorio Veneto is further evidence of the intention of the editors to recall the debt of Italy to the House of Savoy.

The work is a coöperative one, to which ten scholars contribute one or (in three cases) more essays. Each is an authority on the phase of the subject on which he writes; and if some objection can be made on the score of overlapping, none can be made to the sincerity with which the writers proceed to achieve the object of the book. There is abundant evidence in the circumstantial treatment, the mass of detail, the evident familiarity with the topics, of the documentary basis on which it rests from beginning to end. Yet there is scarcely a foot-note or indication of authority, let alone source, save in the chapters on the "Riordinamento delle Finanze in Piemonte" and "Il Risorgimento dell'Industria, dell'Agricoltura, e del Commercio in Piemonte", by Professor Garino-Canina, which contain continual and careful references to the archives of state as well as to the printed matter, both primary and secondary. There are, moreover, statistical tables based on the accounts in the treasury general, and one of weights and measures; both of these are the fruit of researches originally made for the writer's study on the finances of Piedmont in the second half of the sixteenth century which appeared in the *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*. These show the improvement in the condition of the finances during the years of Filiberto's rule, from 1559 to 1580. That he was interested in financial reform is suggested by the fact that, at the beginning of his brief term as governor of the Netherlands, he presented to Philip II. a memorandum relative to financial abuses in the Netherlands, to which there is passing reference on page 68 of the volume, in the essay dedicated to "Vita Militare" and written by Colonel Maravigna. Possibly a prompt response by the king to the recommendations of the duke—he had recently become such nominally, by the death of his ineffective father—would have alleviated the abuses which were to result in the revolt of the Netherlands.

The reviewer confesses to a particular interest, and one which does not go unrewarded, in the twelfth and thirteenth essays, that on the "Politica Ecclesiastica" of Filiberto, by Senator Ruffini, and that on "La Lotta con i Valdesi" by Professor Petrucco. Filiberto is remembered as one of the glorious company of balanced minds in the age of fanaticism in which he lived; and his wife, Marguerite of Valois, as the continuator in Italy of the traditions of Renée of Ferrara, her maternal aunt. The duke of Savoy, like the duke of Ferrara earlier, was the object of papal admonitions on the subject of the company kept by his wife, and finally of the brief of January 30, 1562. On the evidence cited

by Ruffini, Filiberto declined to lend himself to a plot conceived by his former tutor, the so-called bishop of Mondovì, which aimed to recover Geneva for the House of Savoy by murdering Calvin in 1560; this might be the influence of his wife (pp. 400-404). Ruffini, in the only interpretative pages in the volume, summarizes conditions in the church of Piedmont and analyzes the question of church in relation to state in the sixteenth century. Gallicanism, in which this attitude is most familiarly exemplified, had been the determining factor in Piedmont, as in France, during the occupation by France of the territories of the duke of Savoy. In Piedmont, moreover, the control of the sovereign over ecclesiastical affairs was secured by the papal indult of 1451, granted when Amedeo VIII. laid down the tiara and ended the schism. Filiberto, although he yielded to the pope in two disputes over appointments, prevented the abuses of mortmain by excluding from succession friars, nuns, churches, chapters, and monasteries, and by making acquisitions by mortmain depend on the ducal confirmation and the payment of a tax. Professor Petrucco maintains that, even before his marriage, Filiberto did not hesitate to affirm, albeit with caution, the policy which was to be the almost constant norm of his life (p. 436). But that the Waldensian ministers were not counting upon him is shown by the fact that, hard upon the arrival of the news of the French withdrawal, they directed a letter to the German princes to bespeak their intercession with the new duke. Dissuaded from instituting liberty of conscience by his councillors and pushed on by Father Possevino, Filiberto finally decided on the expedition to the valleys led by Count Costa della Trinità. But, says Petrucco, he did not conceal his disappointment at ceding to the idea of violence and saw to the escape of two reformers at Bibiana who had been condemned to death (p. 445). To the duchess Marguerite is attributed the Peace of Cavour in 1561—"to whom, in the seven months preceding the birth of Carlo Emanuele, the Duke would refuse nothing" (p. 450).

The anniversary note, which has almost ceased to sound by the time we reach the end of the book, is struck again by the New Year's greeting—it is the beginning of the year VI. of the Fascist calendar—from the pen of the duke of Aosta, descendant and namesake of the hero, in words reminiscent of the struggle culminating at Vittorio Veneto in which this later Emanuele Filiberto played a conspicuous part.

FREDERIC C. CHURCH.

The Life and Death of an Ideal: France in the Classical Age. By ALBERT LÉON GUÉRARD. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1928. Pp. x, 391. \$4.50.)

IN his *Life and Death of an Ideal* Professor Guérard has made a challenging and significant contribution to both literary and historical studies. He has treated French classicism not as the creation of a group of humanists and men of letters interested in reviving antiquity, but as a movement of thought, a diagonal of social purposes, which shaped his-

tory. As a result, in this volume, which covers the French civilization of nearly four centuries, history and literature are treated more deliberately as two aspects of one and the same phenomenon than they have been in the work either of other American historians or other literary critics.

Philosophers have, of course, long held that there are no isolable problems. Historians too have been widening their field as if in acceptance of this dictum. Somewhat more timidly literary historians have likewise been extending their range. Mr. Guérard as a student of literature now certainly goes farther in this attempt at synthesis than critics or literary historians like Professors Babbitt, Wright, or Nitze and Dargan. To him classicism is a reservoir of forces political, sociological, aesthetic, even economic, or rather anti-economic. Literary critics will accuse him of having slighted those works of art which to them are the really significant products of the movement, and in a sense this is true.

Professor Guérard has been interested primarily in assessing the forces which coöperated in the construction of this reservoir and in plumbing the water-level at various periods. He holds that we are safe in applying "to periods even more than to nations the Wilsonian doctrine of self determination", and that "consciousness is the test of existence". The French lived consciously under the classical dispensation for three centuries. The state of mind which this implied had a definite beginning and a definite end. "There was a moment", he continues, "when France said with Rabelais: 'At last we are out of Gothic night!' and a moment when she said with Victor Hugo: '... we are delivered from the Greeks and the Romans!'" He admits that there is some injustice, much ignorance, and more illusion in both attitudes, but since a delusion is a force and therefore a fact, he sets himself the task of studying this state of mind. Mr. Guérard's main thesis and method are so significant that for students of history they force the particular conclusions he reaches into a position of secondary importance. Many will disagree with him in the extension which he gives the period carrying it down to and through Napoleon and the French Revolution. Other literary historians like Nitze and Dargan have seen the beginning of a new dispensation in the quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns and the introduction of the idea of progress. Since Professor Guérard counts consciousness as the "test of existence" it is surprising that he should not agree, for both the emergence of the quarrel and the dawning of the idea of progress indicate that France had become self-consciously modern. The later prerevolutionary afterglow of classicism of Chenier, David, and the architects of the Madeleine was essentially archaeological, based upon the consciousness that ancient art and literature were different from modern. This, to our mind, is a capital divergence from the essentially classic attitude of Racine and Poussin who were in no sense archaeological but believed in the fundamental unity of all true civilizations. This archaeological interest for better or worse is not only the basis of the

modern historical attitude, it is also essentially romantic. It will result in Michelet's "integral reconstitution of the past", the past of antiquity as well as the past of the Middle Ages.

In spite of our disagreement here and on many points of detail we find Professor Guérard's brilliantly written volume one of the most significant contributions yet made in this country to the study of the most important period in French literature and French history.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

Montrose: a History. By JOHN BUCHAN. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1928. Pp. xviii, 385. \$5.00.)

IN the writing of history, as in every other craft, the pendulum swings from one extreme to the other. It was good that we should have had a period of meticulous weighing of evidence; it has added greatly to our knowledge. But it has made of history a dreary thing. The layman refuses to read it; the writer of imagination does not care to write it. All that is changing. Today we realize that the work of the researcher must reach the final stage of adequate expression before it can be called history. As to how that end may be reached historians differ. There are those who maintain that the creative artist may well leave the spade work to his less gifted brother. The author of *Montrose* does not belong to that school. He has made a long and careful study of the sources to which he adds a knowledge of Highland geography and family history possible only to a Scot. From such a labor a lesser man might add a few facts to what we already know or correct a few misstatements of earlier writers. Mr. Buchan modestly disclaims any such accomplishment. He has done a greater thing by making the past live in a story so thrilling as to compel the attention, so vivid as to require no effort of memory to retain it.

This will be the book's appeal to the popular mind; for the student it contains much more. To vivid narrative is added an interpretation of Scotland's part in the Civil War valuable not only for the history of that country but essential to a complete understanding of affairs in England. Mr. Buchan shows how it was that "a flame which burned slowly amid the lush meadows and green hedgerows might run like wildfire among the dry heather" (p. 10) and so precipitate the war. That flame was religion, the sole cause for which the Scots waged war against their king. For those covenanters who joined with the English in their political struggle to safeguard Presbyterianism in Scotland and who later sold their king to the English for the same end, he has no sympathy. "The verdict of history must be", he writes, "that for an ecclesiastical whimsey the bulk of the nation chose the path of civic dishonour" (p. 136). This sounds partizan; but may it not well be that, by his lack of sympathy, Mr. Buchan has come nearer the truth than the divines and Whigs who first wrote Scotland's history and whose conclusions still influence our judgments?

The author of *Montrose* has not been content with giving us Scotland as an appropriate setting for his great figure; he explains him also by the thought of his time. To him the early seventeenth century was a time of questioning, the natural aftermath of a period of exuberant creation. Men felt that the old world was crumbling and that there was no unanimity about the new. The weakening of the social fabric increased the strain upon personality. "In such an era a religious faith tends to become a complete philosophy of life, governing also the minutest details of the secular world" (p. 7). The unrest tended to divide men into two parties, those for and those against change. Those for change were dominated by Puritan thought and the Puritan, according to Mr. Buchan, "was preëminently a destructive force, for he was without the historical sense, and sought less to erect and unite than to pull down and separate" (pp. 13-14). The Cavalier he characterizes as a lover of order who, "with his reasoned doctrine of a central authority based on historical sanctions, had to define that authority as the King" (p. 15). By doing that the Royalist brought the conflict from the realm of theory into that of actuality, from the ideal monarch to Charles I. Yet there were those who throughout the whole struggle fought for the ideal monarch. Such a one was Montrose. Mr. Buchan's conclusion is that it is his ideals, rather than those of Cromwell, which "are in the warp and woof of the constitutional fabric of to-day" (p. 351).

FRANCES H. RELF.

The Board of Trade. By SIR HUBERT LLEWELLYN SMITH, G.C.B. (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1928. Pp. xii, 288. 7s. 6d.)

AMERICANS have long been keenly interested in the Board of Trade because of its peculiar connection with colonial history. A contemporary source of interest is perhaps to be found in the fact that it is analogous to the American Department of Commerce, with its rapidly increasing range of activities and influence. Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, author of *The Board of Trade*, was permanent secretary of the board from 1907 to 1919, and has since been chief economic adviser to the English government. His account of the recent history and of the present status of the board shows that he has made excellent use of his exceptional qualifications; but his narrative of the earlier history is of little value. This is unfortunate because, as he himself states, the board's long and varied history and its intimate connection with the evolution of economic thought and policy make the historical approach peculiarly important. He has not used adequately either the original sources or the writings of others. In his chapter on origins he fails to use the most obvious of American contributions, and in this field Americans may well be the teachers of Englishmen. Reference to the excellent studies of Professor Bieber, to cite a single instance, would have prevented him from confusing the Privy Council Committee of Trade and Plantations of the early Restoration with the co-existing select councils of trade and plantations, the latter

not consisting of Privy Council members. This confusion reappears in his chapter on William III.'s Board of Trade. The board as established in 1696 "did not differ materially", he affirms, "from the Councils for Trade and Plantations constituted by Cromwell and Charles II. Like them, the new Board was a Committee of the Privy Council, consisting of two classes of members" (p. 16). As a matter of fact, some of these earlier committees were Privy Council committees and others were select committees of non-councillors; and the board as formed in 1696 should not be classed as a committee of the Privy Council. Some of the councillors were *ex officio* members, but the active members were not councillors. Again, when he reaches the reorganization of the board under Pitt he evinces little knowledge of American contributions, for instance, Dr. Anna Lane Lingelbach's article, "The Inception of the British Board of Trade", in the *American Historical Review* XXX. 701. He has used Professor Basye's *Board of Trade*, but this is confined to the period from 1748 to 1782.

In view of the excellence of the later portions of the book, where the author's researches are more adequate and where his experiences are unique, criticism of the earlier part of the work is an unpleasant duty. After having disposed of the general history of the board, he takes up the history and analysis of each of its main functions under such heads as commerce, merchant shipping, railways, industry, industrial property, and statistics. Its history has been marked by alternating expansion and contraction caused by the acquisition of new functions (for example, the supervision of railroads during their earlier history) and the transfer of functions to newly created organs of government (for example, the taking over of railway supervision by the recently formed ministry of transport). One function that has survived from its early advisory status is its work as a clearing house of information. Adapting itself to recent demands for statistical data in the business world, it has undertaken in truly modern fashion the organization of research. It is thus becoming a prominent factor in the attempted "rationalization" of industry. The intrinsic adaptability and informality of the English government is nowhere better illustrated than in the metamorphoses of this most interesting institution. Its recent changes parallel the transformation of English economic society. Despite the deficiencies of Smith's *Board of Trade* in dealing with earlier history, for the last hundred years it is serviceable and for the last twenty-five years indispensable.

WITT BOWDEN.

The Letterbook of Sir George Etherege. Edited with introduction and notes by SYBIL ROSENFELD, M.A. (London: Oxford University Press. 1928. Pp. x, 441. \$7.50.)

THE letter-book, which comprises the bulk of this volume, covers the three years of James II.'s reign during which Etherege was the English minister to the imperial diet at Ratisbon. All the other letters and writ-

ings which were omitted by Verity in his compilation of Etherege's *Works* are collected in the latter part of the volume. Thus Miss Rosenfeld's and Verity's works combined give as complete a portrait as possible of this character of the English Restoration.

Verity, forty years ago, complained that the letter-book was disappointingly political in character. Today it is no less so from the viewpoint of an historian. Etherege's letters give reports, at second hand, of the wars of Leopold against the Turks and the aggressions of Louis XIV. upon the Rhine, this at a time when Brandenburg and the Low Countries were preparing actively to oust Etherege's master from his throne. The letter-book vividly portrays the decadence of the English departments of state under the last Stuart, an interpretation which would probably have caused deep regret to the loyal Etherege. Nevertheless he is far more concerned with petty quarrels at Ratisbon and with amours with actresses and "brawny-limbed" Bavarians than with matters of public importance such as may concern an ambassador. In this respect the letter-book can be compared profitably with the series of *British Diplomatic Instructions* now being published by the Royal Historical Society. Such a comparison makes apparent the great difference in the conduct of foreign affairs before and after 1689. However, Etherege does point out the lethargy and impotence of the German diet, which busied itself with quarrels as petty as his own. The value of the information he obtained concerning the Alliance of Augsburg can not be estimated from the letter-book alone. Perhaps other correspondence might give additional information. Then occasionally, when his interest is aroused, he gives excellent character sketches.

In the introduction Miss Rosenfeld has brought together all the known facts concerning the life of the courtier and dramatist, thus preparing a biography of Etherege which corrects that of Stephens in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Unfortunately the critical attitude of the latter appears more just than the condonation of Miss Rosenfeld. The biographical sketch is followed by a rather detailed historical background for Etherege's work at Ratisbon. Other letters from the Public Record Office and from *Reports* of the Historical Manuscripts Commission are placed in an appendix. The editing of the volume seems to be very accurate. The notes are largely biographical but add to the interest of the letters for the average reader. Several excellent plates together with a map, unmentioned in the table of contents, are included in the volume.

The editor's work, although adding little or nothing new to historical knowledge, provides an entertaining comedy of the misadventures of Sedley's and Rochester's boon companion among the more puritanical Germans.

GLENN W. GRAY.

Mary II., Queen of England, 1689-1694. By NELLIE M. WATERSON, B.Litt., M.A. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1928. Pp. 218. \$2.50.)

THIS little book is an unpretentious study of Mary II., whose fate has been to have her identity merged in the personality of her husband and the stupendous events connected with his "Great Cause". Miss Waterson has based her work on an independent though not exhaustive study of the sources and the secondary literature on the subject. She makes special use of Mary's own memoirs and letters and the writings of Burnet. Although one finds few references to unfamiliar titles, one discovers many fresh and illuminating quotations sprinkled liberally through the pages of the book. The author has also drawn on unpublished manuscripts which serve for the most part rather to confirm than to change traditional views or doubtful inferences.

The value of the book lies in its point of view: to behold the events of Mary's life over her shoulder instead of that of William. Mary doubtless would have preferred the latter course, but her conscious effacement of her own interests can not wipe out the significance of the rôle that she played in the complex politics of the time. Miss Waterson gives us a picture of a woman aware of her inexperience and lack of political training, who by diligent application of a mind not without insight and intelligence renders herself equal to the problems she is called upon to face. She wins the love of a naturally cold husband, draws to herself the devotion of the English people, and, incidentally, reduces their distrust of William. She grapples conscientiously and not ineptly with the problems of government, exercises a care over the church and religion, and finds time withal unostentatiously to dispense and encourage charity, and to take the lead in a movement to suppress vice.

Mary is taken through her formative years in Holland under the tutelage of her Anglican chaplains, and her busy and disturbed reign in England. She is seen sturdily upholding the prerogative of the king and the rights of the Cabinet Council against those of the Privy Council. While William was absent her influence in Cabinet meetings was "definite and well-recognized, and important decisions were never made until she had been consulted". A real sense of statesmanship appears in her policy of conciliation in Scotland and her insistence that troops should not be encamped on the borders of the Highlands near the unsubmitive clans. It is interesting to behold her pushing an inquiry concerning the Glencoe massacre, because she "was grieved at the heart that the reputation of the King . . . should have suffered so much in that affair". The queen's beneficent influence in religious matters is rightly emphasized, as is her share in winning to the new régime the support of the church. So much interesting material is set down for every phase of Mary's life that one regrets that the writer did not attempt "that little more" which would have made the picture complete. In the first half of the book she never gets far beyond a mere chronological account of

events. It is only in her chapters on politics, ecclesiastical affairs, influence on society, and personal influence, that she penetrates through the words of her sources into their meaning. While one approves her caution, one feels that she lets her documents stand too much in her way. The conclusion, in which she is not so closely circumscribed by the written word, is an able estimate of Mary.

In the bibliography appended to the work, one is surprised at the omission of the obvious reference to the excellent article on Mary by A. W. Ward in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and above all of Krämer's *Maria II. Stuart*. And Klopp's *Der Fall des Hauses Stuart*, still a useful work, should be mentioned. A few typographical errors appear in the text. These, however, are readily detected.

ALEXANDER THOMSON.

Le Blocus Continental et le Royaume d'Italie: la Situation Économique de l'Italie sous Napoléon Ier. Par EUGÈNE TARLÉ, Professeur d'Histoire Moderne à l'Université de Léningrad. (Paris: Alcan. 1928. Pp. xii, 378. 40 fr.)

It is well that Professor Tarlé again tills his fertile acreage of economic history. In bringing this third good yield from researches long interrupted by war and revolution he can still have the satisfaction originally expected from breaking a fresh bit of rich soil. Happily, too, he has not brought this yield in Russian. Wherefore—and because mastery of languages and of the technique of scholarship has been matched here by notable ability in presenting the fruits of research—his contribution merits a cordial welcome.

Characteristically this monograph "d'après des documents inédits" is introduced by a critical essay—instead of a proper bibliography—upon the dearth of printed material for the subject. This justifies the author's claim to have opened up an important unexploited field; yet it is very misleading. Certainly he was not restricted to some ten secondary works (with his own) when a wealth of pertinent monographs was available upon the Continental System alone. And a slight use of a few volumes of Napoleon's letters is no test whatever of the resources in printed first-hand material. A thorough exploitation of such primary and secondary sources, an exhaustive scrutiny of Italian and French archives, and the use of other archives, would surely have given much wherewith to supplement or control those archival findings, the defects of which M. Tarlé so repeatedly deplores. Then fewer apologies and cautions would have been needed to attest scholarly good faith.

In spite of the defects of a too-limited research the findings of M. Tarlé are very considerable and have been admirably played up for us. It does seem that the interpretation is over-colored by an anti-Napoleon bias, but the exposition is little impaired thereby, except in the initial political chapter. That is a rather unconvincing critique of the polity of more than a decade, deduced largely from a few documents of 1805–

1806 without sufficient regard for time factors, stressing adverse but slighting favorable implications of the evidence. Thereafter follow good chapters (II.-IV.) on economic backgrounds for the Continental blockade in the kingdom of Italy. The institution of the blockade there, and its internal and external workings, are less well portrayed. Obviously the new details for these chapters (V.-VII.) are filled into Tarlé's preconceived sketch without checking his *Continentalnaja Blocada* (Moscow, 1913) by fuller or later studies. Thus he misconceives the nature of the Continental System after it was fundamentally modified in 1810, likewise the trend and scope of its license-trade features. And thereby he misses the purport of those 1811-1812 movements of grain from and into Italy for which he has good data. However his criticisms of the myth of Venetian trade-decadence are worth noting. Best of all are his chapters (VIII.-XIV.) dealing with the industrial aspects of the blockade era in Italy. Each important industry in turn is treated as fully and factually as the evidence permits. Perhaps more interesting even than the data as to bad—and *good*—effects of the blockade, however, is the evidence of a nascent "industrial revolution" during—and even before—the Napoleonic régime in Italy. Finally, a terse conclusion admirably summarizes deductions which, if not entirely new, are generally valid and pertinent.

In fine, regardless of some defects, this study is a substantial contribution to the economic history of the era of Napoleon and of the "Industrial Revolution". It is scholarly, frank, definitely informative, and very suggestive as to the need and possibilities of further investigations of the subject, which we surely may expect from Professor Tarlé himself.

F. E. MELVIN.

British Foreign Secretaries, 1807-1916: Studies in Personality and Policy. By ALGERNON CECIL. (London: John Murray; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1927. Pp. xii, 378. 15s.)

"THE present volume", we are told in the preface, "is an attempt to visualise the leading characters in Foreign Office history—to see what manner of men they were, and what they made of the Foreign Secretariat. . . . This book might, therefore, be said, with no more than trivial inaccuracy, to take its start as the Foreign Office emerges from the shadow cast by Pitt's greatness and to take its leave as the Foreign Office disappears again into the whirlpool of Mr. Lloyd George's versatility." Pitt, "the pure spirit of England walking the floor at Westminster", is the fountain of all. "Castlereagh, Canning, and Aberdeen . . . took from him, each of them, such things as the lesser may borrow from the larger mind." Moreover, the career of Aberdeen offers "a singularly pure example . . . of the international method of Castlereagh"; while that of Palmerston as faithfully represents "the national system of Canning". As for "the three Whig Earls", Clarendon, Granville, and Rosebery (for Russell is discussed only in connection with Palmerston and with almost unmitigated contempt): "they filled no place in either of the great schools

of British foreign policy. They framed no system, embodied no principle, and have left no lasting mark upon the road we travel. . . . Yet, . . . they were for compass in a party that otherwise had sailed on foreign waters by naked theory; cosmopolitan when Nationalism was but too ready to drive blindly into revolution, imperialist when Little-Englandism threatened to fill the canvas." But when Salisbury brought Conservatism back to the Foreign Office, the Castlereagh tradition to some extent returned there too. For, if Salisbury fixed his eyes "upon political interests, rather than upon political sentiments or causes", and if he "failed . . . to detect the sanguine hope of European solidarity inaugurated by Castlereagh's policy at Chaumont, he remains none the less the foremost statesman to recognize the merit and lesson of Castlereagh's cool and practical intelligence". Finally, Viscount Grey, for the author's great convenience in rounding off his work, is found to have displayed some of the traits of all the most illustrious of his predecessors.

The above quotations, torn though they are from their contexts, represent the main argument, but only in part the nature of the book. For the author, with a real gift for condensation, has managed to traverse almost every important international issue in this most crowded of centuries; to insert thumbnail biographies of the principal secretaries; to pronounce upon their motives as well as their activities; and to season the whole liberally with *obiter dicta* and aphorisms. Needless to say, there is much to question and even to criticize. Canning, while given full credit for his ability, emerges as little better than a short-sighted opportunist who wrought no lasting good either to his country or to Western civilization. On the other hand, it is not recorded of Aberdeen, that "limpid spring of honour and conscience", within whom "liberal ideas flourished easily in a patriarchal framework", that he never ceased to deplore the French revolution of 1830 and to regard the neo-Holy Alliance as the bulwark of Europe; or that he congratulated Schwarzenberg after the mid-century revolutions on his inestimable services to Europe. Palmerston "struts", "crowing with crest erect", through many pages, receiving but apparently never earning the half-affectionate indulgence of the commentator. It is, for example, considered matter for regret that he did not in the 'thirties allow France "to assert her so-called 'natural rights' and embrace Belgium definitely within her system, if not actually within her borders". And so, through earls and marquesses (for Lansdowne is not quite forgotten) to Viscount Grey, who, by nature and training, was designed for the career of a country gentleman, but, through a scarcity of Liberal aristocrats, was perforce led to adopt that of a foreign secretary.

There are some curious errors which should certainly have caught some eye before the book went to press. It is, for example, rather amazing to find the Bedchamber Question given as the occasion for the change of ministry in 1835, or to be told that Castlereagh as "Secretary of State for War" presided at the War Office. All in all, the book is by

no means bad reading for one's lighter hours, and might with some advantage be given to students cutting their critical eye-teeth.

HERBERT C. BELL.

The Dictionary of National Biography. Founded in 1882 by GEORGE SMITH. 1912-1921. Edited by H. W. C. DAVIS and J. R. H. WEAVER. (London: Oxford University Press. 1927. Pp. xxvi, 623. 25s.)

THIS is a collection of biographies that will bear reading right away through, and is thus unusual. If the choice of names has not been made with that intentional catholicity used in our new *Dictionary of American Biography*, it has been done nevertheless with care. One thinks offhand of no names to be added and few to be omitted. Was the career of Arthur Guinness, first Baron Ardmore, sufficiently distinguished for inclusion, or was he rather one who for generosity deserves monuments of stone in his own county? Probably it was not a mistake to include Henry Cust, since he will no doubt be mentioned in the future Grevilles of the years before the war (he is already in Blunt).

In general the biographies are more interesting than those in the last supplementary volume, partly because they are a little more in the nature of portraits and partly because they are more plain spoken. If one were to judge from obituaries nowadays in the *Times* or the *Morning Post*, one would suspect that manners in respect to the dead are changing in England; even memorial volumes got out by friends are likely to deal honestly with the deceased. This volume leans that way, as for example in the account of Alfred Austin.

It is not always so, however. The life of Joseph Chamberlain, possibly the longest in the volume, written by the late Professor Egerton, is almost a eulogy. Chamberlain was undoubtedly a man of intense force of character and of impressive personality. From his spell those who talked with him or heard him speak seldom escaped. But those who follow the tergiversations of his career or who have occasion to read his speeches over any decade find it hard to believe him so great as do those who knew him. He made imperialism a living thing in England and even the hoardings today show that his ghost still walks. As to his relation to the Jameson Raid, those who have studied the matter in the sources so far open, give him the benefit of the doubt. But his diplomacy in the events that led to the Boer War will hardly meet the approval of future generations.

A greater man than Chamberlain, Botha, gets about one third as much space, in the excellent narrative by Professor Basil Williams. I remember once remarking to the late George L. Beer that I was inclined to rate Smuts as possibly the great living man within the British Empire. Beer thought at least two minutes—he weighed his spoken words as the canny weigh their written—and said: "Yes, unless Botha." One may guess that Botha will perhaps in the future be counted the George Washington of South Africa.

Those who will turn over the diaries and letters of the decades before the war, will be likely to look in this volume for information about that attractive figure George Wyndham, who played several parts and might well stand as type of the cultivated country gentleman of his day. They will find a disappointing narrative, almost wholly political, and one that fails to make clear the curious circumstances of his resignation.

Among biographies that might be mentioned as excellent examples of compression and balanced judgment are those of Archbishop Moorhouse, Rupert Brooke (who in the opinion of the biographer had reached the top of his powers), Sir William Anson, Hume Brown, Lubbock, Alfred Lyttleton, Keir Hardie, and Sir James Murray. The account of Kitchener by General Maurice plunges into the middle of acute controversial matters but is based on much knowledge and to a non-military critic seems judicious.

Particularly notable are the biographies of scientists, such as those of Alfred Russell Wallace, Sir William Crookes, and Sir George Darwin. They show not only the romance of the progress of science in the late nineteenth century, but reveal skill in showing just exactly the significance and importance of the new discoveries, and what their relation is to present knowledge. Pity it is that the lives of historians are seldom written in that way. But the account of Seebohm is nearly a model of how the life of an historian should be treated.

There is no more interesting narrative in the volume than that of Sir Robert Morant. Incidentally it ought to be read by every teacher of British history in this country. What can be more English than the British Civil Service which is hardly understood on this side of the water and which is either ignored or slighted by American writers of text-books on English history?

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

German Diplomatic Documents, 1871-1914. Bismarck's Relations with England, 1871-1890. Selected and translated by E. T. S. DUGDALE. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1928. Pp. xxviii, 399. \$7.50.)

THIS collection of selected documents, translated into English, from the *Grosse Politik*, will present limited opportunities to those students of diplomatic history who can not read German; but it will be tantalizing. No selection of this character can be entirely satisfactory except to the individual making it. In this instance, the plan is apparently to extract and translate those documents, or portions of documents, bearing directly upon the relations of Germany and Great Britain. Good judgment is evident in the selection. The collection is composed, substantially, of the exchanges between the German Foreign Office and its representatives in London, some correspondence between Berlin and Continental embassies, and important minutes by the Chancellor or Foreign Minister, particularly those which are specifically concerned with some Anglo-German

matter. For this contribution to the study of Anglo-German relations we are duly grateful, and yet we are not satisfied. Obviously, what the *Grosse Politik* has to offer on the subject of Britain's relations with Germany can not be thoroughly understood without *all* of the documents, even those which may not directly concern intercourse between Berlin and London. The complete yield will be available in English only with a translation of many documents beyond the scope of Captain Dugdale's undertaking.

An admirable historical introduction of some twenty-eight pages, by Headlam-Morley, supplies the provenance for the documents of this volume, which is the first of the four projected. The aim is to present Anglo-German relations from 1871 to 1914 as they are revealed in the *Grosse Politik*. Volume I. covers the period of Bismarck's control from 1871 to 1889. The material is grouped topically under twenty-six headings, such as: the War Scare of 1875; the Constantinople Conference; the Congress of Berlin; Germany's Estrangement from Russia; the German Colonial Question; Bulgaria; the Battenberg Marriage Question. Naturally enough, the Eastern Question, Egypt, and African Colonies are the subjects most fully illuminated.

The lacunae of the *Grosse Politik* itself are manifestly reflected in an abridgment. The inadequacy of official documents for the explanation of a diplomatic situation is evident. In this collection, for example, the absence of any background or filler for official communications dealing with the war scare of 1875 is noticeable. Official documents do not ordinarily recount the origin and significance of such an incident. We learn very little from this collection (although we can not hold it responsible for what the *Grosse Politik* does not contain) about the Berlin Memorandum, about the diplomacy leading to the Congress of Berlin, particularly in respect to Germany's knowledge of Britain's negotiations with Russia and Austria, or about the Battenberg marriage affair. Again, the insufficiency of official documents appears in such matters as the Zanzibar trouble, where the German view of Kitchener and his associates produces a humorous contrast to the panegyric of Sir George Arthur.

Amusing, also, are the estimates of British statesmanship by the two Bismarcks, father and son, and by Count Münster. Baldly stated in English, they are perhaps more revealing than they might otherwise seem. To Münster, "British statesmen seem . . . more than ever like rich dilettantes, living from day to day, ignoring the future of their country and confusing the position of affairs in their minds". To Count Herbert Bismarck, British ministers show singular absence of political judgment and surprising ignorance of European affairs. In conjunction, however, with the splendid group of British biographies—Disraeli, Salisbury, Dilke, Granville, Gladstone, and Curzon, these documents are important and indeed indispensable. The work of translation has been excellently done; it is a faithful reproduction of the original, clear, accurate, and idiomatic. The German notes are reproduced without comment or criticism. As

Headlam-Morley remarks, the object of the work is not propaganda, not defense of the British government, but the provision, for students of foreign policy, of material with which it is essential that they should be acquainted.

LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

The Letters of Queen Victoria. Second series, A Selection from her Majesty's Correspondence and Journal between the Years 1862-1885. Edited by GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE. Volume III. 1879-1885. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1928. Pp. xiv, 738. 25s.)

"It cannot be denied", wrote Granville in August, 1880, "that the Throne is extraordinarily stronger than it has been during the century" (p. 133). Yet, on the following New Year's day the Queen wrote in her diary: "God . . . help me on! . . . I am so overdone, so vexed, and in such distress about my country." The throne was stronger, not only because the sovereign's marked ability and great experience were increasingly recognized, not only because her age, sex, character, and widowhood made opposition to her wishes increasingly difficult for English gentlemen, but because she used all the advantages of her position to exercise the greatest possible amount of influence at every juncture. She was distressed about her country because she believed that its direction had fallen into unworthy hands. Almost unconsciously she had taken not only Disraeli's ideas but Disraeli's opponents for her own. Now she was vexed that the latter were in power, and overdone in striving to make the former still prevail. It was a hard situation for a very conscientious, very inadaptable queen, who had come to consider herself well-nigh infallible. Hostile to the Liberals as a whole, and believing, moreover, that the country's institutions in general, and monarchy in particular, were threatened by the radicals, home-rulers, and "thinly-veiled Republicans" in their ranks, she was trying as perhaps never before to control the personnel, the policies, and even the utterances of her constitutional advisers. Another incentive to such action lay in her enthusiasm for the new "imperialism" and belief in the white man's burden—so long as the white man was British and not Russian, nor yet French. Five days after receiving the "terrible telegram" in which Disraeli announced his fall she had written: "Mr. Gladstone *she* could have nothing to do with, for she considers his whole conduct since '76 to have been one series of violent, passionate invective against and abuse of Lord Beaconsfield, and that *he* caused the Russian war." Under the new government, she continued, "there must be no democratic leaning, no attempt to change the Foreign policy . . . no change in India, no hasty retreat from Afghanistan, and *no* cutting down of estimates. . . . Mr. Lowe she could *not* accept as a Minister. Sir C. Dilke she would only and unwillingly consent to having a *subordinate office* if absolutely necessary". If this letter had shown, as did later ones, that the Queen

could see nothing but "sedition" in the agitation of "those dreadful Irish people" led by the "Pretender Parnell", and nothing but criminal weakness in British attempts at conciliation, it would have constituted a fair index to her attitude during the whole of Gladstone's administration. The lack of any reference to domestic affairs, except in the condemnation of "democratic leaning" is significant.

The letters recording the five years' conflict which ensued are of absorbing interest. It was a conflict not only of great personalities strongly entrenched, but of points of view which have never since ceased to divide the allegiance of the British people; and it was waged over problems of great magnitude which are not yet completely solved. The Queen's energies were above all directed to checking, where she could not defeat, withdrawals in South Africa, the Soudan, and Afghanistan; to winning the Liberals away from all ideas of Irish home rule; and to safeguarding the House of Lords by averting conflicts with the Commons. The courage and persistence with which she contested every inch of ground were not less remarkable than the methods which she employed. It has been somewhat the fashion of late to refer to Victoria as a Whig, but these letters reveal her more as a Tory of the school of George III. To those familiar with her earlier letters it is not surprising to find her seeking advice from Disraeli on affairs of state, extracting information from Granville as to proceedings in the Cabinet, and inciting ministers to resist one another and even the premier; but it is somewhat startling to find her attempting to exert pressure on her ministers by privately urging Forster on one occasion to threaten resignation from the Cabinet, and Wolseley on another to take similar action with respect to his command in Egypt! Moreover, during the political crisis which followed the election of 1885, we find her engaged in an attempt to disrupt the Liberals and form a new party which, had it come to birth, might not too inappropriately have been referred to as that of "the Queen's Friends". Sometimes, *e.g.*, in relation to the relief of Gordon, she was probably in the right; sometimes, as in averting conflicts between the houses over the arrears and county franchise bills, she was successful as well. But, on the whole, she fought a losing fight because of her inability to adapt herself to, or even understand, the moving forces of her time. Members of the Cabinet such as Chamberlain, who were meditating schemes for the economic and social betterment of the people were in her eyes merely "the *worst men* who had no respect for Kings and Princes"; the Liberals were "unpatriotic" in retaining Gladstone for their leader; while the House of Commons, filled with men who entertained "low and revolutionary views" was "becoming like one of the Assemblies in a Republic". Indeed—and this was perhaps even more symptomatic—spiritual peers who believed themselves bound by their prayerbook, and the interpretation of scripture which it enjoined, to speak against the deceased wife's sister bill were, in the Queen's eyes, actuated by motives "perfectly incomprehensible and really very low and unworthy".

A losing battle, a queen distressed, vexed, and overdone, and yet a queen to whom much gratitude was owed and given. For her temperament and talents were perhaps as complementary as they were antagonistic to those of Gladstone, her character and example at least as high.

The editing is, as in the earlier volumes, of unusual excellence. One notes with regret the relative paucity of documents for the critical later months of 1885; but for this the editor may not be to blame.

HERBERT C. BELL.

Storia d'Italia dal 1871 al 1915. By BENEDETTO CROCE. (Bari: Laterza and Sons. 1928. Pp. 356. 25 lire.)

"I HAVE closed with 1915, at Italy's entry into the world war, because the period which opens with this event, just because it is still open, does not fall within the historian's competence but within the politician's. And I shall never be willing to confuse or contaminate historical investigation with political polemic, polemic which is carried on and ought certainly to be carried on, but in another place." These words, which conclude Signor Croce's preface to the volume under review, suggest the two reasons for the extraordinary interest of his work; first, his lofty impartiality in producing real history, and, secondly, the deadly polemic force of a piece of pure history which may wither by ignoring. Croce never has need to mention Fascism, though there is casual mention of Mussolini, the Socialist revolutionary and interventionist; but it would be quite impossible to derive historically the sort of thing Mussolini believes Fascism to be, from the sort of thing Croce describes between 1871 and 1915. It is easy to comprehend how a fascism might spring from the "religion of the state" which Croce had observed being imported from Prussia before the war, and above all from Mussolini's pre-war mixture of pragmatism, the "mysticism of action", Sorel, and Bergson. In short, by inference Croce has explained in his book the genesis of Fascism as witnessed by a liberal philosopher.

So much for the dynamite that is in this book, dynamite which makes one wonder whether Signor Croce has had his house sacked by the Fascists for the last time. His sin, not only here, but throughout the Fascist régime, has been worse than the sin of exiles, like Salvemini, who have honored Fascism with their righteous anger; it is the sin of having smiled serenely though not contemptuously at a regrettable and passing phase—the great Fascist era. But his book contains more valuable if less exciting things than dynamite. It is a model of clear analysis by a man whom intelligent Italians as well as intelligent men everywhere would surely vote the supreme intellect of Italy. He brought to his task unique cultural gifts, and it is therefore not surprising to find his discussion of a period generally considered, in Italy as elsewhere, sterile and disheartening, a profoundly interesting one. He freely confesses that the national monarchy after 1871 was prose after the poetry of the Risorgimento; but he finds that prose neither petty nor decadent. The party

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battles between conservatism and liberalism do not strike him as a sordid parliamentarianism, but as the efforts of a newly made country, without strong political traditions, to govern itself intelligently. Even the "transformism" or coalitionism that eventually followed, he finds natural in the face of Italy's problems. He observes that this transformism existed all over Europe but horrified people most in Italy because they were new to parliamentary life, and irregularities frightened them more than it did others. Above all it horrified the historians, "who are usually professors or other ingenuous folk" and who were desolate at not finding two parties, clear-cut and in neat opposition. Finally, Croce criticizes the Italians for yearning after Anglo-Saxon self-government, a self-government which in Italy took cultural, and could not take political, forms; and for falling—like most other nations indeed—under the spell of Prussian discipline and Prussian success. This same sense of inferiority drove Italians to ascribe their excellent headway in national economy between 1871 and 1887 to good luck and Italy's lucky star.

Croce traces the labors of the government in handling the "prisoner of the Vatican", in "Piedmontizing" the army and Italianizing Piedmont, in building railways, in taking world leadership in the exploitation of white coal, in warring on illiteracy. He describes the disillusionment of the Italians in finding that from the modern economic point of view Italy was not "the garden of nature", but was conspicuous for "natural poverty". He points out how eminently practical, if philosophically inadequate, was Cavour's recipe for a free church in a free state. He traces the rise of a "social question", not only in politics but in the literature of writers like Verga, Capuana, Serao. He shrewdly observes that the dialect literature of the period was centrifugal in its implications, not—as the pessimists wailed—centripetal. He points to the happy absence of class hatred, a concept eventually imported intellectually from outside; though he admits there was snobbery and chasing after knighthoods. ("One shouldn't refuse a cigar or a knight's cross to anybody", bluff old Victor Emmanuel II. has been quoted as remarking.) Above all, Croce analyzes Italy's perpetually recurrent sense of inferiority, the sensitiveness of Italians at being considered the *Graeculi* of the modern world, their doubts about their parliamentary system. They failed, Croce thinks, to see that practical politics and the playing off of private interests are to statesmanship what alloy is to gold; they make it hard enough for use in this world.

Excellent as is his analysis of Italy's untoward colonizing ventures and her "marriage of convenience" with the Central Powers, and particularly of the unstable character of that alliance, Croce is at his best when he speaks of the "real decadence" of the period 1871–1890, which was religious and intellectual and which Italy shared with the rest of Europe. It was the heyday of Herbert Spencer, of Germanism—post-1848 Germanism, of course—of "science", "method", "facts". He describes the rise of Italian Socialism and its transformation into a useful parliamen-

tary party. And he is particularly apt in his treatment of Crispi's ministry and of the personality of Crispi himself.

But for those who know the writings of Croce and what he has done for European thought, chapter X. will prove the pith of this work. It deals with the cultural revival immediately preceding the war, a revival in which the leading part was taken by a *studioso*, a student whom Croce's good taste prevents his naming, though the page on which he is mentioned is listed in the index under B. Croce. And for the reader who does not recognize the "collaborator" (p. 256) of that student, it will suffice to examine the index for G. Gentile, whose recent Fascist fulminations against his intellectual master have not shaken Croce's urbanity. Before the war the *studioso* already noted with regret his collaborator's leanings towards "irrational idealism".

In his twelfth and last chapter Croce deals with the outbreak of European war, with the Austrian ultimatum—to which Italy was not privy in advance, with the hesitant neutrality wavering between heartburns over Trieste and heatburns over Nice and Savoy, and most interestingly of all with the d'Annunzian decadence that led Italian youth to desire intervention that they might not miss the "unique moment". In Croce's opinion it was ultimately this sense of "fatality" that precipitated intervention.

In closing he strikes both of the notes struck in the passage quoted from his preface. He regrets the interventionist demonstrations of d'Annunzio and his like, which made it appear that the popular will had forced the hand of the parliamentary will, and he hints that the habit of extra-parliamentary action might be expected to lead to disastrous consequences. He again declines to carry his narrative further since Italy's part in the World War "does not belong to this history and perhaps does not yet belong to any history".

Rich notes and an excellent index give the formal guarantees of sound scholarship which Croce's readers learned long ago to expect. But the thing that will make this small history a classic in its field is not its careful scholarship but the power of synthesis which very few living thinkers are in a position culturally to exhibit.

STRINGFELLOW BARR.

Making the Fascist State. By HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1928. Pp. xii, 392. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR SALVEMINI, the most intrepid of anti-Fascist exiles, called his masterful indictment *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy*. Professor Schneider's title contains the hint of a different attitude; but of course he has not had the enlightening experience of being kicked and beaten by the young bravos of Via Tornabuoni. One is bound to respect Salvemini's attitude; but the facts of these latter years have demonstrated beyond question that Fascism is far from being merely a brutal and lawless tyranny.

Dr. Schneider's picture is nearer the truth, although his book is in no sense an apologia. It is the first strictly scientific treatment of its subject available in English. The result is a surprisingly impartial examination of a remarkable political, economic, and sociological phenomenon. In his preface, the author describes it as "a laboratory study of the mind and imagination at work". Yet the book is pleasantly free from the smell of the laboratory; the dissecting table has been cleared away; and the results of unquestionably solid research are presented in an interesting and coherent form. The method is a rather skilful combination of analysis and narrative, which, if it necessarily involves some repetition, is well adapted to the aim of investigating "the construction of Fascist theories in terms of the varying practical situations into which the movement was forced by dint of circumstances".

This book demonstrates the impossibility of giving any concise yet comprehensive definition of Fascism. It was not only a different thing at different times; it was a different thing in different parts of the country. The motley bands of Milan under Mussolini; the proletarian squads of Cremona under Farinacci; the intellectualist group at Florence; Misuri's respectable middle-class *fasci* at Perugia were all doubtless variations on the same theme; but the theme itself, even in Dr. Schneider's skilful exposition, is sometimes hard to follow. Yet the reviewer knows no book which unravels so deftly the tangled skein that is Fascism, differentiating these local groups and precisely assaying their contribution. Groups and their leaders are clearly individualized, and their aims, motives, and influence examined dispassionately, but with an obvious knowledge of human nature and an occasional ironic humor. The strong forces of dissidence within the Fascist party and their source in intellectual and other differences are made clear, as is also the personal influence of Mussolini which, whether as reality or myth, alone held the party together.

Less original, perhaps, though no less interesting is the account of the theory of the Fascist state. It has to be pieced together from various parts of the book, since the short section specifically devoted to the subject contains only a small portion of what the author has to say in this connection. But Dr. Schneider is under no illusion as to the relative importance of thought and action in the making of the Fascist state. Fascism, he sees quite clearly, is first and foremost action, and only in a secondary, and frequently a derivative sense, thought. Italian syndicalism, both in practice and theory, has by a remarkable process identified itself with Fascism, and now forms one of the basic elements of the new state. The formation of the corporate—or as a certain group among the Fascists would prefer to call it—the syndicalist state is handled with great insight and copious information in chapter IV. Dr. Schneider calls his fifth and final chapter Fascist Culture. There are many people who would call it "Psychopathia Fascista". Whatever view one takes, one is forced to admit that here is a phase of contemporary life too important to be overlooked. This book is the first to give us anything like adequate

material for a judgment. No small part of this material is contained in the valuable appendix of selections from Fascist literature and documents of Fascist history.

The author's clear sense of the limitations of his treatment disarms the possible criticism that the political history of Fascism is somewhat sketchily dealt with. "This book is intended", he says, "as both more and less than a history of Fascism." Specific errors seem few. One would like, however, to know Dr. Schneider's authority for the following statement in connection with the Aventine Secession: "A hall was hired on the Aventine Hill, where headquarters were established" etc. (p. 92). He offers no other explanation of the name. Is it possible that he has momentarily mislaid his manual of Roman history? It is a pity that so scholarly a work should be disfigured by numerous misprints. Three in a short paragraph (pp. 149-150), if they do not establish a record, are at least an indication of undue haste on somebody's part.

LEONARD MANYON.

British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914. Edited by G. P. GOOCH, Litt.D., F.B.A., and HAROLD TEMPERLEY, Litt.D., F.B.A., Volume V., *The Near East: the Macedonian Problem and the Annexation of Bosnia, 1903-1909.* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1928. Pp. lxx, 886. 18s.)

AGAIN the editors of this invaluable series are to be congratulated upon the speed and completeness with which their volumes are appearing. The first three volumes, already reviewed in this journal (XXXIII. 648; XXXIV. 340), dealt with England's abandonment of splendid isolation, the Anglo-French Entente of 1904, and the testing of the Entente in the Morocco Crisis of 1904-1906. The fourth volume, on Anglo-Russian relations, 1906-1909, though temporarily delayed, is expected to appear about the time these lines are in print. The fifth volume, now in hand, is a very full account of the Balkan problems which involved the relations of the Great Powers to one another, during the years from the Müritz programme of reform for Macedonia and the assassination of King Alexander of Serbia, to the Young Turk Revolution and Izvolski's humiliation in the final settlement of the Bosnian annexation crisis. It thus runs parallel to, and supplements, from the British point of view, material in volumes XXII., XXIV., XXVI., XXVII. of *Die Grosse Politik*. Much of the British diplomatic material on the Near East in this period was long ago published in blue books, but the editors have been able to draw rich and new secret material from the eighty manuscript volumes of Sir Edward Grey's private correspondence, from the annual reports sent to the Foreign Office by British representatives abroad, and from other sources.

By way of introduction the editors happily give a full-length picture (pp. 1-48), drawn from the annual reports of 1907, of the Turkish Empire on the eve of its fall. There is succinctly and forcibly described the

powerful but corrupt despotism of Abdul Hamid, the system of central and local administration, the army, navy, finances, public opinion, education, and the foreign policy of the old Ottoman Empire. All the Sultan's principal servants and sycophants are duly and shrewdly characterized, often with a pleasing touch of humor which must have brought welcome smiles in Downing Street.

For the Macedonian trouble England was partly to blame. Disraeli's insistence on breaking up the Greater Bulgaria of the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878 had left Macedonia under Turkish misrule. Bulgarians, Greeks, and Serbs thereupon formed armed bands to assassinate one another and incidentally their Moslem oppressors. The Sultan sent wild, irregular troops to add to the slaughter, but otherwise was unwilling or unable to preserve order. There is an interesting analytical table (p. 293) for the year 1908, showing the numbers of each nationality committing, or dying from, political assassination. Sir Edward Grey wanted to make amends for Disraeli's mistake, by forcing real and effective reforms upon the Sultan which should put an end to these tragic conditions. There is probably no aspect of Grey's policy which shows to better advantage his finest qualities as a statesman and an honest gentleman than his patient and persistent efforts at Macedonian reform; that they proved to be a ghastly failure was the fault of the Continental Powers and of the wily evasions of Abdul Hamid.

Russia and Austria had come to an agreement in 1897 by which they put aside temporarily their rivalry in the Balkans. In 1903 they coöperated in drawing up the Müzzsteg programme of reform for Macedonia, and persuaded the other powers to give them a kind of mandate to put it into effect. But they did not execute their task either efficiently or sincerely, and Izzet Pasha and other Turkish officials were able to interpose innumerable obstacles and delays. Germany, convinced that reform was hopeless and unwilling to antagonize the Sultan by pressing him too vigorously to accept reform, probably had the effect of encouraging him to disregard the representations made to him to improve conditions in Macedonia. The French, mindful of their immense investments in Turkey (pp. 175-183) were inclined to be indifferent to reform proposals, or at least to give them only lip-service; in fact the French ambassador at Constantinople, M. Constans, was reported to be fond of making a remark to the effect that he "didn't give a d— for Macedonia" ("Je me f— de la Macédoine", p. 169). Finally, in January, 1908, Count Aehrenthal announced his plan for a railway through the sanjak of Novibazar and at the same time a new plan of judicial reform for Macedonia was allowed to fall to the ground. Aehrenthal asserted that there was no connection between the two events, but Grey was nearer the truth in his comment: "Austria has played the mean game of driving a bargain with the Porte in favor of her railway scheme at the expense of Macedonian reform. It seems, now, that we are to be in the position of having all the odium at Constantinople of pressing reforms, while other members of the

Concert curry favor with the Porte by obstructing them" (p. 228). This comment sums up pretty well the hundred and more large quarto pages devoted to the dismal tale of Macedonian reform.

Sir Edward Grey naturally welcomed the Young Turk Revolution (pp. 247-320), which he hoped would put an end to Abdul Hamid's corrupt and cruel despotism, open the way for real reforms, and also smooth the path for British commercial interests. "If the Young Turks are really going to make a good job of their own affairs", he wrote, "our encouragement and support will be very firm, . . . and we shall deprecate any interference from outside on the part of others." But he was not too optimistic: "Of course, things cannot continue going as well as they are at present;" and he warned the Young Turks against trying to go too fast: "if they do, they may either create confusion or provoke reaction. The first important point is to get the Government into the hands of honest and capable men; if they do that the rest will follow." He also saw embarrassing complications ahead for Great Britain among her own Moslem dependents in India and Egypt: "If Turkey now establishes a Parliament and improves her Government, the demand for a Constitution in Egypt will gain great force, and our power of resisting the demand will be very much diminished. . . . The position will be very awkward . . . [and] will require careful handling" (pp. 263-267).

The brutal assassination of King Alexander Obrenovitch and the accession of Peter Karageorgevitch, and the political effects on the Great Powers, are dealt with at considerable length (pp. 124-167). England showed her abhorrence of the crime by withdrawing her minister from Belgrade, and by refusing for three years to send another in his place, until King Peter reluctantly consented to dismiss the six regicide officers supposed to have been the ringleaders in the crime. It is usually stated that two of the principal participants in this palace assassination of 1903 were Tankositch and Dimitrijevitich, the two officers who became notorious in connection with the Sarajevo Plot of 1914. But it may be noted that the British documents do not mention these two individuals among the six whose dismissal was demanded on account of the 1903 crime. In contrast to England's righteous attitude, Russia and Austria hastened to recognize Peter I., but Austria soon forfeited whatever merit she acquired thereby. She tried to bully Serbia into continuing to purchase war supplies from Austria-Hungary, and when Serbia refused, Austria was unwilling to negotiate a commercial treaty. This led to the "Pig War", and so to increased bitterness between Serbia and the Dual Monarchy.

This bitterness rose to an explosive pitch at Belgrade with Count Aehrenthal's sudden announcement of the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the long diplomatic crisis which followed (pp. 356-815). The annexation had been preceded by a sharp dispute about rival railway projects—the railway project by which Austria wanted to connect the Bosnian railways with the line running down the Vardar Valley

to Salonica, and the Adriatic railway project by which Pashitch and Izvolski wanted to give Serbia a free economic outlet on the sea and also a closer strategic and political connection with Serb populations in Montenegro and Dalmatia. Sir Edward Grey was inclined to take an impartial attitude between the two projects, subordinating both to the question of Macedonian reform.

The story of the Buchlau bargain between Aehrenthal and Izvolski, which preceded annexation, is given according to Izvolski's version. Although the British took the Russian minister's assertions with a grain of salt, it is noticeable how strongly they desired to support him against Austria (and Germany). One reason for this was that the British were justly indignant at Aehrenthal's nullification of clauses in the Treaty of Berlin without so much as a by-your-leave to the other Signatory Powers. They also suspected that Aehrenthal was lying in denying that he was in collusion with Ferdinand of Bulgaria, who declared himself independent of Turkey almost at the moment that Aehrenthal proclaimed the annexation of Bosnia. Edward VII. added the minute: "I cannot believe in M. d'A[ehrenthal]'s 'word of honour' statement, as facts belie it" (p. 446). But the main reason for their support of Izvolski, so far as they could give it without surrendering British interests in preserving the closure of the Dardanelles unless they were opened to all powers on equal terms, was the fear that Izvolski might be made so unpopular in Russia by his blunders that he would lose office; and in case of this, England feared for the safety of the Anglo-Russian Entente, which she wanted to uphold and strengthen out of dread of Germany and the navy which Tirpitz was building. When Izvolski came to London in October, 1908, a week after the annexation of Bosnia, he played up this boggy of the danger of his own dismissal and the triumph of the reactionary anti-English elements at St. Petersburg. But even so, he could not persuade Grey to consent to approve the one-sided opening of the Straits in Russia's favor, which had been agreed upon at Buchlau. King Edward, however, wrote the Tsar a letter in praise of Izvolski, which may have helped save him from dismissal.

Throughout the long Bosnian annexation crisis, one finds Grey working to find a solution which would satisfy Austria, Russia, and Serbia, and preserve the peace of Europe. He contributed more in this direction than one would gather from the documents in *Die Grosse Politik*. But at the very end of the crisis, after Izvolski's complete collapse before the so-called German "ultimatum" in March, 1909, Sir Arthur Nicolson at St. Petersburg was more Russian than the Russians, and rather upbraided Izvolski for yielding so quickly and completely without consulting France and England more fully.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Russian Public Finance during the War. Revenue and Expenditure, by ALEXANDER M. MICHELSON; *Credit Operations*, by PAUL N. APOSTOL; *Monetary Policy*, by MICHAEL W. BERNATSKY.
State Control of Industry in Russia during the War, by S. O. ZAGORSKY. [Economic and Social History of the World War, ed. J. T. Shotwell.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. Pp. xxiv, 462; xx, 351. \$5.00; \$4.00.)

THESE volumes are the first to appear in the Russian series and are specially welcome in view of the dearth of authoritative works in English on developments in the Russian Empire in the last decade preceding the revolution. It is fortunate, therefore, that each of the authors has included in his work a survey of pre-war conditions in his particular field.

The volume on *Russian Public Finance* comprises three scholarly monographs dealing with the revenue and expenditure, the credit operations, and the monetary policy during the World War up to the fall of the provisional government in November, 1917. Although these monographs are the work of different authors and are largely compilations and analyses of statistical data, some of which apparently are now published for the first time, they present collectively a clear picture of the Russian system of war finance under which the entire war expenditures and even part of the ordinary expenditures were covered by the proceeds of loans and the issue of paper money.

Professor Michelson analyzes in great detail the Russian budget, especially the sources of revenue, before and during the war. Although the government was confronted with the task of finding new sources of revenue to compensate the loss arising from the abolition of the state monopoly of spirits, in addition to the problem of meeting the tremendous increase in public expenditure caused by the war, it did not undertake the necessary financial reforms until 1916, when an income tax and a war-profits tax were enacted. The increases introduced in the existing taxes did not yield sufficient revenue to cover even the loss to the treasury from the suppression of the state monopoly of spirits. Professor Michelson's work would be improved, it is believed, by a more extended discussion of the reasons underlying the government's financial policy in this respect.

The monograph by Professor Bernatsky, Minister of Finance in the provisional government, on the monetary policy during the war, opens with an excellent survey of Russian currency before the war. He then deals in detail with the changes in the currency system brought about by the war—the suspension of specie payments, the disappearance from circulation first of gold, and then of all coins, the rapid increase in the note circulation, etc. As the printing press became more and more the principal means of defraying war expenditure, the currency system was gradually transformed into one consisting exclusively of inconvertible paper money. The author devotes the last part of his monograph to a study of the effects of inflation and of the ineffectual measures taken by the government to combat them.

The credit operations, domestic and foreign, by which the Russian government covered seventy per cent. of its war expenditure, are described at length by Mr. Apostol. The data presented with respect to Russian credit operations abroad should prove of interest to a wide circle of students. It is to be noted, for instance, that almost one half of the British credits were used to finance Russian purchases in the United States prior to the entry of the United States into the war. The essential facts are given concerning Russia's financing in the United States, including both the loans advanced by the American government and the credit operations on the American market. While data with respect to the former have been available in the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, the details with regard to the latter have not hitherto been readily accessible. A few errors have crept in, and at times the paragraphing does not help the reader. The total of the advances by the United States Treasury up to October 8, 1917, as given on page 319, does not check with figures on page 313; and the total of the Russian debt in the United States given in the third paragraph of page 315 is not the same as that stated in the third paragraph of page 320.

Professor Zagorsky prefaces his study of state control of industry during the war by a brief sketch of Russian industry before the war and a survey of the conditions brought about by the war which adversely affected industry, such as the isolation of Russia from the world market, the disorganization of railway transport, the deterioration of the labor supply, inflation and general rise in prices, etc. He then examines the various organs through which the government exercised control of industry and sketches the evolution of state regulation of several of the most important branches of industry—metal, fuel, textile, and leather.

The development of the policy is clearly set forth. The state's intervention in the economic life of the country began hesitatingly, without a clear programme, with disconnected measures, but gradually, under the pressure of circumstances, became more and more comprehensive and far-reaching. Its character appears most vividly in Professor Zagorsky's exposition of the development of governmental control of the cotton industry. In the case of fuel, the government began by fixing prices, then proceeded to regulate the distribution of fuel, and finally concentrated in its hands the whole trade in hard mineral fuel.

Professor Zagorsky discusses at length the economic policy of the provisional government, which was considerably influenced by the programme of the socialist elements in the new régime. The organs of control were reorganized and systematized, and a series of state monopolies were introduced—coal, leather, textile, and agricultural machinery.

In the concluding chapter, probably the best in the book, the author endeavors to arrive at an estimate of the results of state regulation of industry in Russia during the war. He sets forth very lucidly the various factors influencing state control which make it impossible to pass any

general judgment on Russian economic policy during the war. The author examines the effect of state intervention under the imperial government on two industries—textile and mining—with a view to establishing whether state control was harmful or beneficial. He concludes on the basis of data presented that the intervention of the state was fully justified, that price control did not have any detrimental effect on the production of cotton or coal, and that the object pursued by the government was to a certain extent attained. The fact that governmental control restricted the unlimited growth of prices and introduced a certain order in the distribution of raw materials was, in his opinion, of considerable assistance to the development of production and to the supply of the army.

While Professor Zagorsky's treatise is intended primarily for the specialist, his discussion and analysis of economic conditions and developments during the war deserve the attention of the general student of Russian affairs.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800. By SAMUEL COLE WILLIAMS, LL.D. (Johnson City: Watauga Press. Pp. xi, 540. 1928. \$5.00.)

SOME thirty-five travel accounts or extracts therefrom have been assembled by Mr. Williams; arranged in chronological order; supplied with introductions, annotations, and an index; and put forth as the third of his notable contributions to Tennessee history. The bulk of the book is made up of material readily available elsewhere in print, but the editor's extensive knowledge of local history enables him to identify and contribute useful information about most of the persons and places referred to. More important, however, are a number of narratives that have never appeared in print before or are inaccessible to most students. The first of these is the journal of Alexander Cuming, the eccentric Scot who tried to follow in the footsteps of John Law, which is reprinted from the *Historical Register* of London for 1731 and contains interesting information about the Cherokee Indians and their relations with the English. The Chevalier de Lantagnoc's account of his capture by the Cherokee and of his activities among them is translated from a transcript of the manuscript in the French archives, John W. G. de Brahm's account of the construction of Fort Loudoun in 1756 is printed in part from a manuscript in the Harvard Library, and John Lipscomb's journal of a trip from the Holston to Nashville in 1784 is taken from the unpublished original in the possession of the Tennessee Historical Society.

Distinctly the most important contributions in the book are the two journals of missionary tours by Moravians, printed in translation from the unpublished German originals in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The first of these tours was made by Brother Martin

Schneider in 1783 and 1784 from Wachovia to the Cherokee towns and back, and his narrative includes vivid pictures of travel-conditions on the frontier and of the life of the Indians. Sixteen years later, in 1799, Brothers Abraham Steiner and Frederick C. de Schweinitz made a similar trip to the Cherokee towns and then went on across the wilderness to the settlements on the Cumberland; and the detailed narrative of their journey, which fills seventy-seven pages, is a notable addition to the literature of frontier and Indian life. Students of the fur trade will be interested in the account here given of the operations of the United States factory at Tellico and the statement that traders and Indians sometimes took their skins and pelts to Spanish Pensacola.

The format of the book is excellent and it is illustrated with reproductions of contemporary pictures and maps. A general map of Tennessee or better still a series of sketch-maps showing the routes of some of the travellers would have been helpful to the reader. The work contains a regrettably large number of minor errors. Thus "uncovered" is used twice for "undiscovered" (p. 21); such misspellings are found as "Botts" for "Batts" (p. 19), "Niagra" (p. 438), "Muckingum" (p. 446), "emperiled" (p. 119), "Boquet" (p. 203) and "Fort Chartress" (p. 212); and Father Marquette is described as a "Recollect priest" (p. 41). The two Moravian journals purport to be translations made by the dean of the Moravian College at Bethlehem but one of them is in good English and the other is full of such atrocities as "Mr. McCormick lives now already 30 years here". There would seem to be no reason, moreover, why the German practice of capitalizing all nouns should be carried over into the translation. More serious than any of these things, however, is the editor's failure to indicate in most cases the sources from which the reprinted narratives are taken and to give credit to previous compilers and translators. Three of the narratives are reprinted without credit from Dr. N. D. Mereness's *Travels in the American Colonies*, two of them being translations, presumably made for that work, of originals in the Archives Nationales of Paris. Some of Dr. Mereness's foot-notes are also taken over, occasionally, but not always, with his name printed after them. Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations*, and the *Illinois Historical Collections* are also drawn upon for narratives without credit being given.

SOLON J. BUCK.

The Foundations of the Constitution. By DAVID HUTCHISON, Ph.D., Professor of Government, State College, Albany, N. Y. (New York: Grafton Press. 1928. Pp. 406. \$3.50.)

It is now more than a half century since Alexander Johnston pointed out in a notable essay that the federal Constitution was not a creation but an evolution and "is a perfect expression of the institutional methods of its [American] people". Since that time a considerable and important literature has been produced in the further elucidation of this viewpoint. Several writers have traced the growth of the text of the Constitution

through its various stages in the Constitutional Convention of 1787. The latest example of this type is the important volume on *The Making of the Constitution* by Charles Warren. Others have traced the sources of the Constitution to the contemporary state constitutions, the Articles of Confederation, the plans of union of both the Colonial and Revolutionary periods and American experiences with the same, as well as to English institutions.

The work under review endeavors to combine both fields. The author announces in the foreword, that the work "traces the origins or the historical background, Federal, State, Colonial and English". It is obvious that to carry out this plan within the compass of a single volume of some four hundred pages, the discussion of the work of the Convention itself must be curtailed if sufficient space is to be reserved for the presentation of the sources and precedents drawn upon by the framers. Dr. Hutchison has chosen to emphasize the latter. This is fortunate as the existing literature dealing with the convention is more adequate than that relating to the other field. It is here that the author has made his principal contribution. This volume bears an appropriate title as it contains a more comprehensive and systematic discussion of *The Foundations of the Constitution* than any previous work. The order of treatment adopted is that of the arrangement of the Constitution. Each section or clause in its text being considered, first, briefly as to its presentation and evolution in the Convention, followed by a discussion of precedents or possible source. References to documents and authoritative works are given in notes at the end of each chapter.

The most serious criticism of Dr. Hutchison's work is his constant reference to the discredited "Pinckney Plan" as given in Elliot's *Debates*, although he usually supplements this by referring to a reprint of Charles Pinckney's *Observations*. No attention is called to the scholarly work of Messrs. Jameson and McLaughlin in their efforts to reconstruct the plan in its original form, and as it is reprinted in Farrand's *Records* (III. 601-609). This is an unfortunate omission and has led the author into several errors. In general, however, as far as the reviewer has been able to test its context and citations, the work maintains a high standard of accuracy. Naturally where so many hundred, even thousands of facts are dealt with, it would be extraordinary if there were not some errors of facts and ambiguity of statement, and there are such. Several have been noted, but space permits reference to only a few.

The date of the division of the Virginia legislature is now placed earlier than the one previously given (p. 25). There was no upper house in Pennsylvania under the constitution of 1776, as one might infer from the statement on page 26. The comment on the intent of the Convention in its action in regard to the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* seems too positive in view of the fact that the clause was at one stage placed in the section dealing with the judiciary and was only assigned its final position by the Committee on Style. Reference to the

action of President Lincoln and the controversial literature called out by Executive suspension in 1861 would seem desirable in view of the reference to Congressional action (pp. 138-139). The contribution of William Paterson—unfortunately spelled Patterson throughout—in connection with the “supreme law” clause and the idea of judicial review of legislation is not sufficiently emphasized (pp. 240, 260).

This volume will serve as a valuable work of reference. As such it is more likely to be used than as a text-book. The vast number of facts noted, together with the condensed and summary treatment employed, does not render it especially attractive to the general reader.

HERMAN V. AMES.

The American Heresy. By CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS. (London, Sheed and Ward. 1927. Pp. 368. 8s. 6d.)

FOR Mr. Hollis, an English Romanist, two things abide, tradition and religious authority. In his *Glastonbury and England*, he laments the decline of England's civilization when she turned from these to follow false gods.

Thomas Jefferson rightly built America's political philosophy upon the principles of human liberty and equality. When, however, deprived by the Revolution of the support of tradition and by his eighteenth-century rationalism of the support of religious authority, he declared these principles to be self-evident—which they are not, but rather “a profound metaphysical mystery, deducible only from dogmatic religion”, from the equality of all souls before God—he prostituted them to the selfishness of men interpreting them in terms of their own convenience, and inaugurated the American heresy.

To be sure, Jefferson foresaw the menace of an aggressive materialism to America's culture and sought to avert it by promoting a decentralized, property-holding, agrarian society capable of traditions and spiritual standards; but the Constitution, the work of a capitalist conspiracy, and his own Louisiana Purchase defeated him. A West, with neither traditions nor local loyalties, generated a relentless materialistic nationalism and produced the leaders of the middle period, Jackson the barbarian, Douglas the imperialist, Lincoln the Rabelaisian opportunist. It produced the Republican party, whose law, higher than the Constitution, was the law of supply and demand.

In the Civil War, this raw nationalism carried the last strongholds of local liberty and order maintained by the landed classes “who alone have that understanding of tradition without which no society can be healthy”. The victory was no more for the North over the South than for the West over the East, the victory of a cultureless, unmoral industrial civilization that is abnormal and will not endure. Lincoln, wrong in everything, was most wrong in his emancipation policy, which wrecked a fine old society without provision for a better one.

Into the Civil War went "two politically minded nations. From it emerged one non-politically minded nation dominated by wealth". The career of Woodrow Wilson clinches the moral. A vain and selfish egoist, with an absurd admiration for his own "first-class mind", paying lip-service to democracy for political advantage, while regarding himself as a superior person and the people as "damned stupid", he was an ideal tool for the capitalist interests. They used him to defeat genuine progressivism in 1912, framed his Mexican policy to ruin Huerta who had been too friendly to British concessionaires, broke down his devotion to neutrality and pacifism (though he clung to their shadow long enough to save himself politically in 1916), and forced him into war to bring victory to the Allies before they were too exhausted to pay their debts. Wilson was "too great a gentleman to stoop to take a bribe" and "for that reason he spent a great deal of his life doing other people's dirty work for nothing". Such is the author's presentation.

The book is written with vivacity, critical penetration, wit, and intensity of conviction. Honest Americans will admit many counts in the indictment. Frequent lapses in taste and the contemptuous characterization of almost every American, from Jefferson, the "prig", to Roosevelt, the "cheap-jack", and Wilson, the "arrogant, dishonest schoolmaster", may be forgiven an acidulous English reactionary descanting on an American theme. There are some gross misrepresentations. For example, the author makes Douglas deliberately revive the rivalry over slavery merely to turn it to the account of his imperial plan for populating the territories. One wonders how a writer can justify to his historical conscience an account of Wilson's early years built up chiefly from the books of Annin and Kerney.

There are obvious limitations to a thesis that must disregard such fundamental historical facts as the perversion of traditional and religious authority into the parasitism of which the rationalists and revolutionists helped purge the eighteenth century; the debasement of the majority of the Southern whites under the slavery régime and the regeneration of both races through modern diversified industry; and the humanitarianism which operates constantly through American democracy to correct the abuses of mechanistic efficiency and to find the way through greater material resources to a higher freedom. It is a pity that even a philosophy may be perverted by bigotry. Mr. Hollis, in all seriousness, has ridden a cock-horse through American history.

CLIFTON R. HALL.

History of the United States. By ASA EARL MARTIN, Ph.D., Professor of American History in Pennsylvania State College. Volume I., 1783-1865. (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1928. Pp. xiv, 806. \$3.28.)

IN his preface Professor Martin justifies this addition to the rapidly expanding library of college history texts by citing the marked tendency

in American colleges and universities to divide the introductory course in the history of the United States into three parts, the first recording the development of the English colonies through the Revolutionary War, the second and third dealing with the national period. The volume under review represents the second part of this trilogy. Beginning with the recognition of the independence of the United States in the treaty of 1783 and closing with the assassination of President Lincoln, it discusses political, economic, social, and intellectual phases of our national life with a wealth of detail which attests the industry of the author as well as his familiarity with the accumulating results of historical scholarship. In tone and organization it closely follows the type of college text which in recent years has become orthodox. The treatment is mainly chronological, severely so at times. For example, Jackson's financial policy suffers considerably because it has to give way to the march of events which parallel its evolution.

Although the economic basis of political developments runs through the entire volume, a separate chapter on Economic Progress, 1820-1860, catches up some loose threads which were not previously woven into the fabric of the text. Likewise, a chapter on Social and Intellectual Readjustments during the same period contains skilfully condensed sketches of the woman's rights movement, the temperance crusade, educational reforms, and ventures in philanthropy. The sections on literature, art, and science, however, give one no sense of the sweep of cultural forces, but stand as a series of unrelated pigeon-holes with the material neatly arranged in each. The author is much happier in his full and clear presentation of the westward trend of population, the demand of the Mississippi Valley for transportation, and the national, state, and private enterprises which answered that demand prior to the Civil War (pp. 279-294, 352-355, 526-532).

Professor Martin is an impartial chronicler and cautious commentator. He steadfastly refuses to sit in judgment on men, motives, or measures. Where he does venture to fix responsibility or apportion praise and blame (as in the case of the Mexican War, p. 499), his decision is carefully hedged about by qualifying clauses. To many teachers this hesitation of the author to inject his own convictions into the discussion will seem wholly admirable. It does, however, leave the narrative less stimulating to the reader.

Relatively few errors or inconsistencies appear in the thirty-three chapters. Some apparent contradictions result from shifting emphasis. We learn at one point that Jackson's first message to Congress "merely suggested the advisability of replacing" the Bank by one "founded upon the credit of the government" (p. 375), but later we discover that Jackson went beyond suggestion in his first message, since he assailed the Bank "as unconstitutional, and erroneously charged" it with having failed to establish a uniform currency (p. 401). The statement that the Dred Scott decision "tended to carry the entire Democratic party to the

support of the position of Calhoun and Jefferson Davis" (p. 617), is somewhat sweeping in view of the Northern Democrats who accepted the court's opinion with considerable mental reservation.

In format the volume is attractive, though the division of the chapters into extremely short sections, which will probably be welcomed by the average undergraduate, tends to make the narrative appear more "choppy" than it actually is. Twenty-six maps, five of them in color, are well-selected aids to the effective presentation of the text. The bibliography, arranged according to the chapters of the book, is chosen with discrimination by a teacher who realizes both the needs of the introductory course in American history and the resources of most college libraries. There is also an index which is really usable.

JOHN A. KROUT.

Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812. Edited with an introduction by William Wood. Volume III., parts I. and II. [Publications of the Champlain Society, XV., XVII.] (Toronto: Champlain Society. 1926, 1928. Pp. viii, 1061.)

THE documents printed in part I. of this volume follow chronologically those in volume II. (reviewed in this journal for January, 1925). They relate to operations throughout the year 1814 along the entire frontier between the United States and Canada from the Maine coast to Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and hence cover such important events as the battles of Plattsburg, Chippewa, and Lundy's Lane. The proceedings of the court martial which investigated the defeat at Plattsburg are given in detail. Nearly all the material is official, but in connection with this campaign the editor prints two vivacious letters from Alicia Cockburn at Montreal to a relative in England, one written before and one after the battle, from which we obtain glimpses of the low estimate placed by the British in Canada upon the military ability of General Prevost.

The documents pertaining to major military operations contain little if anything that will alter the accepted conclusions of the historians. On the other hand, the volume contains much detailed information about hitherto obscure and little-known operations in the West. We have the full reports of Lieutenant-Colonel McKay's expedition for the recovery of Prairie du Chien from United States forces in July, 1814—an enterprise in which McKay was wholly and even brilliantly successful, despite the presence of several American gunboats on the upper Mississippi. Likewise we have the official account of the repulse of the American expedition against Michillimackinac in August of the same year and of the capture by the British of the two armed schooners which constituted the entire American naval force on Lake Huron. In other documents there is confirmation of the belief of Secretary Armstrong that the British would attempt, in the winter of 1813-1814, to cross Lake Erie on the ice and destroy the ships of Perry's squadron at Put-in-Bay and Presqu'Isle. It appears that but for the mildness of the winter such an attempt would

have been made. We learn something also of an American raid under General McArthur from Detroit up the Thames River in November, 1814, resulting, as the British lamented, in the destruction "of all the Resources (and the Mills) of the Country to the Westward of the Grand River, from which we had calculated upon deriving the principal part of the Supplies destined to support the Regular Troops and Indians during the approaching Winter". In short, there is ample evidence that Perry's victory on Lake Erie in September, 1813, did not in the minds of either side settle the question of supremacy in the Northwest and that a lively contest for its possession went on during the year following.

An armistice proposal which has, I believe, hitherto been unknown to history is rather dimly revealed in the correspondence of Sir George Prevost, in March and April, 1814, with General Drummond and Commodore Yeo. The proposal (if such it actually was) seemingly emanated from Monroe, then Secretary of State, and was based on the expectation that the pending negotiations with Great Britain would result in an early peace. Drummond and Yeo counselled against a cessation of hostilities. Nevertheless we see a draft of a letter from Sir George to the American General Macomb at Plattsburg (April 25, 1814) in which he announces the appointment of a British officer to meet an American officer at Champlain to discuss an armistice. The records in this volume are silent as to what followed.

Volume III., part II., contains a carefully prepared index of the three volumes, the comprehensiveness of which may be inferred from the fact that it covers two hundred closely printed pages. It contains also an "Appendix of Miscellaneous Documents" for the period of the war, among which most space is given to the "Journal" of Captain W. H. Merritt of the militia of Upper Canada in the years 1812 to 1814. Merritt saw considerable active service up to the time of his capture at Lundy's Lane; thereafter he was a prisoner in the United States. Unfortunately, the so-called "Journal", except for the period of his captivity, is in the form not of a journal but of a narrative, with no indication of the date at which it was put in the present form. Hence its value as contemporary evidence is slight.

Other documents in the appendix deal largely with routine matters—enlistments, troubles in controlling the Indians, pay and allowances, prize money, pensions, etc. Probably the most interesting series is that dealing with prisoners of war. As in other matters, trouble arose out of the British claim of "indefeasible allegiance". In the spring of 1813 twenty-three American prisoners were placed in close confinement as British subjects to be tried for treason. The government of the United States at once placed an equal number of British prisoners in close confinement as hostages. The British "raised the ante" by incarcerating forty-six American commissioned and non-commissioned officers; the United States followed suit. This deplorable competition was brought to an end in December, 1813, when Sir George Prevost was forced to report to Lord

Bathurst that no evidence could be brought against any of the men confined. There is considerable complaint of ill treatment of British prisoners in the United States. Merritt's Journal, on the other hand, contains almost no complaint of unnecessary harshness. He was one of a number of officers held under parole at Cheshire, Massachusetts, where they apparently enjoyed entirely friendly relations with the people of the community and amused themselves with games, reading, exploring the countryside, and drinking-bouts innumerable.

JULIUS W. PRATT.

Mexico and Texas, 1821-1835. By EUGENE C. BARKER, Professor of American History in the University of Texas. [University of Texas Research Lectures on the Causes of the Texas Revolution.] (Dallas, Texas: P. L. Turner Company. 1928. Pp. viii, 167.)

THIS little volume presents in an admirably clear and concise form the author's conclusions regarding the causes of the Texas revolution. It is the result of years of patient investigation in a limited field and will be read with interest and confidence.

Professor Barker contends that "denial of religious toleration and restrictions on slavery were a source of serious and continued annoyance, but the irritation caused by them was not acute enough to cause revolution". "Much more exasperating were . . . the prohibition of immigration from the United States and the crying deficiencies of the judiciary system. . . ." Yet the Mexican legislation of 1834 prepared the way for the removal of both the latter grievances. "What was it, then", he asks, "which precipitated the Texas revolution?" (p. 100). Thereupon he proceeds to deal with certain commercial and administrative irritations and concludes with the statement that Santa Anna's "overthrow of the nominal republic [of Mexico] and the substitution of centralized oligarchy precipitated the revolution . . ." (p. 146).

According to Professor Barker, however, none of these causes was fundamental. "Always in the background was the fatal fact that the Mexicans feared and distrusted the Anglo-American settlers, while the settlers half despised the Mexicans. A permanent atmosphere of suspicion magnified and distorted mutual annoyances which might otherwise have been ignored or adjusted. The apparent determination of the United States to obtain Texas heightened Mexican apprehensions. . . . At bottom the Texas revolution was the product of racial and political inheritances of the two peoples" (p. 146).

Although the volume is confined to the limited field of the relations of Texas and Mexico from 1821 to 1835, Professor Barker does not fail to indicate in his preface the broader implications of his conclusions. "The causes of the Texas revolution", he says, "are more than a study in local history. Misapprehension concerning them and of the consequences to which the revolution led lies at the bottom of much of the suspicion and

distrust which have animated Latin American relations with the United States for nearly a hundred years." According to an interpretation worked out largely by the anti-slavery group in the United States but accepted by Mexico and many writers in Latin America, the Texas revolution was the result of an unholy conspiracy between the Washington government and its frontiersmen, designed to acquire Texas, and the Mexican War which followed was the "last wretched expedient of a ruthless imperialist to wrest California and more slave territory from the abused and helpless Mexicans". Both crimes were closely connected and the first was the entering wedge for the accomplishment of the second. Barker contends, however, that "the Anglo-American settlement of Texas, begun in 1821, was a phase of the westward movement which had already carried the frontier line from Atlantic tide-water across the Mississippi and was soon to carry it to the Pacific". The reviewer knows of no reason for refusal to accept this conclusion, but he regrets that Professor Barker failed in the body of his study to point out all the reasons for believing that there was no connection between the government of the United States and the migration to and subsequent revolt in Texas. It appears, too, that the Louisiana and Florida background are not sufficiently emphasized, for the connection of Madison with the Florida insurgent movement furnished an important basis for Mexican suspicions regarding Texas.

Lastly, it may be important to note that Professor Barker, in insisting upon the influence of racial and political inheritances, perhaps goes a little too far (pp. 2-3) and assumes as a demonstrated fact the inheritance by each succeeding generation of the acquired characteristics of its parents.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Economic Bases of Disunion in South Carolina. By JOHN G. VAN DEUSEN, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 305.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1928. Pp. 360. \$6.00.)

THE growing tendency of present-day scholars to discuss and interpret historical movements in terms of underlying economic factors and social forces is well exemplified in this study of South Carolina during the antebellum period. The tariff and its relation to the nullification controversy, as set forth in previous works of long recognized authority, represent only one of many elements that contributed to South Carolina's dissatisfaction with the general government, and throughout the present account of her gradual alienation from the Union, constitutional principles and political motives are treated (if at all) as of minor influence.

It would be difficult to say which group of the author's primary sources of information is most important. While the manuscript collections reveal the opinions of a number of political leaders, such as James H. Hammond, the wealth of pamphlet material, made accessible to the

author, presents in high relief the controversial character of those questions as argued by men, prominent and obscure. A vast amount of information has been gleaned from contemporary newspapers and leading periodicals which reflect the diversity of ideas in various sections of the state. From federal documents is derived a better understanding of South Carolina's case against the Union; but state documents seem strangely to have been overlooked, although they generally contain valuable raw material for the economic historian. And, while official documents, such as the governors' messages, are frequently quoted from the newspapers, one would prefer citations from the originals.

This study is concerned primarily with contemporary opinion as a determining factor in the state's movement towards secession. The author builds up a framework composed of the several economic issues vital to South Carolina's development and then elaborates upon them, voicing in detail the arguments held by conflicting groups, pointing out fallacies in their reasoning, and stating his own conclusions briefly. Topical arrangement of material has been skilfully used, giving unity to such related, though diverse, subjects as internal improvements, direct trade with Europe, development of manufacturing, etc., while in each case the discussion leads to the inevitable conclusion that "South Carolina would never be economically independent while she remained in the Union" (p. 330).

In the first two chapters the tariff question is treated: a careful analysis of the reasons for disunion sentiment during the controversy leading up to nullification, followed by the "fight for free trade" after the compromise act of 1833. That South Carolina felt a real grievance in the effect of the tariff upon her prosperity, is forcefully expressed by contemporary leaders, bearing out the author's view that the disaffection in the state "was of a gradual though steady growth" (p. 22). It is clearly shown that the later tariff acts failed to alleviate to any marked degree the real and alleged wrongs suffered from the protective policy; to South Carolinians, at least, the tariff remained an unsettled question. Unionist sentiment, significant throughout the period, the author regards as a negative element which preferred to endure existing evils rather than suffer the disturbance of radical action. But did this sentiment vary to any extent in different parts of the state? If South Carolina was substantially a unit in her fundamental economic interests, in contrast to the marked sectional division existing in the other Southern states, this point would seem worthy of considerable emphasis.

In "calculating the value of the Union" (ch. III.), by comparing federal appropriations, North and South, South Carolina arrived at the conclusion that they "were unequally distributed in every department" (p. 144), and the author's careful comparisons (supplemented by tables in the appendix) prove that she had considerable ground for dissatisfaction. Her objection to the national policy on internal improvements is stressed, its relation to the tariff, and the state's complaints, based upon unconsti-

tutionality as well as upon extravagance and partiality. Apparently one is to conclude that she sacrificed some possible economic gain upon the altar of constitutional principle.

The chapter setting forth South Carolina's opposition to the national bank and the independent treasury (ch. IV.) contains little new material, but serves to emphasize the control of capital and credit by the North as a continual source of irritation. Similarly, chapter VI. on railroad development retells in considerable detail the growth of transportation and its relation to the state's other economic problems. This chapter is really a sequel to the preceding one on direct trade with Europe, the most interesting in the book. Here the author, reinforced by the background of his earlier research on the Southern commercial conventions, is particularly well equipped to present and evaluate the issues. Economic motives are discussed in their broader aspects, with reference to sectional as well as local interests, together with an analysis of the arguments in favor of direct trade and the author's reasons why that trade failed to materialize.

The attempts to establish manufacturing in South Carolina and to revive the slave trade constitute the subject-matter of the last two chapters. The problems which the author finds involved in cotton manufacturing in an agricultural region, are substantiated by recent research in other phases of Southern industry before the Civil War, especially in the manufacture of iron. His own account of this latter activity in South Carolina would have been strengthened by using the reports of the state geological survey. He concludes that, among other factors, "the failure of southern manufacturing establishments was chiefly caused by lack of patronage" (p. 301). Agitation for the revival of the slave trade affords a fitting close to this study, since this basis for disunion was especially stressed in the years just preceding secession; indeed, it is held that "the demand for the slave trade was the last straw" (p. 327).

In the case of each economic factor considered, the author finds the leaders of South Carolina reaching the same conclusion: that disunion is to be preferred to economic dependence. The institution of slavery, in its relation to these economic forces, is perhaps taken for granted with too little comment. But the arrangement of the material as a whole and the logical progression from chapter to chapter give added emphasis to the thesis, and the narrative is very readable. It is hoped that studies of equal calibre will be made of other Southern states.

LESTER J. CAPPON.

Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858. By ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE. Two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928. Pp. xxviii, 607; x, 740. \$12.50.)

"THE moment you say arrangement", said Charles A. Beard, across a table, "you say interpretation." The remark was addressed to Senator Beveridge who had been arguing that "all the facts properly arranged"

dispensed with interpretation. To discuss a book except in the light of its intent is futile. Take him or leave him as you will, but don't try to evaluate Mr. Beveridge as a biographer on any scale but his own. It is most interesting to contrast his method with its antithesis, which is just now in everybody's eye more boldly than ever before. As to the historicity of *Elizabeth and Essex*, the reviewer knows nothing; but as to its mode of biography, its audacity of condensation, its glorious economy, who can have two opinions? But this does not prevent admiration for something so different that the reader of both takes refuge in one glory of the sun, another of the moon, etc. And each method illuminates and helps us to evaluate the other.

The aim of the Beveridge *Lincoln* is to make real to the reader all the various trains of events in which, sooner or later, Lincoln became entangled, and to get at the man through the way he reflected the event. It is not exactly biography by reaction but it is similar to that. Of course, such a purpose involves many perplexing questions of subject-matter. How far afield should one go in tracing out these encompassing events? For example, is biography lost altogether and is pure history given the field in Mr. Beveridge's extensive review of the Kansas episode? Some of us will feel that at times he lets his theory of presentation get away with him.

But there is a mental reservation. His industry was enormous and he had the sense of the trained lawyer in presenting a case. Though his Kansas episode seems to the reviewer pretty much "straight history", it is so well done in both the respects indicated that I am unable to regret it. At times, however, there is more reason to demur. Is a series of sketches of the bench in the Dred Scott Case really worth while? Answer the question as one may, the reality of his industry is amazing. With all sorts of trained assistance at his command, he made the minimum use of it. He was a fanatic in his objection to vicarious investigation. In a case where there was nothing to be said against such aid he stuck to his guns and himself wearily deciphered the early records of the Illinois legislature which never before had been thoroughly searched.

In the main he kept to his purpose not to interpret. That is to say, he came as near doing it as is humanly possible. To do it completely, as Professor Beard intimated, is impossible except in chaos. Objective history is a myth. The Beveridge *Lincoln* is after all a portrait not a set of gymnasium measurements. The animating principle of the author's design—whether he acknowledged it or not, does not matter—is in the passing comment: "never the apostle of a cause, he was to become the perfect interpreter of public thought and feeling and so the instrument of events." Whether this is certainly the clue to the eventual Lincoln that posterity will finally accept is not at the moment in point. It is the Beveridge thesis.

These two bulky volumes reach only to 1858. They take cognizance of all the disputed points and their documentation is minutely elaborate.

As bibliography the foot-notes are of first value. For the most part, the new matter which has been assembled does not produce any revolutionary changes in the lineaments of the traditional Lincoln as retouched in late years. Rather, they triumphantly vindicate certain impressions which, though relatively new, are even now widely accepted. Lincoln's thorough-going instinct for politics is an instance. Another is his calm lack of passionate conviction. A third is the recent recognition of the Peoria speech as his central turning point. If there be dimly perceptible between the lines an unfamiliar conception in the author's mind, it is not put into words. I think I see the shadow of it, but the theory of the book's technique has here stood firm, and one is left speculating. In at least one instance the theory is frankly abandoned. Mr. Beveridge holds that the young Lincoln had in him a caustic vein which frequently broke out into sharp sarcasm; that it came near to insolence in the Shields affair, and that the somewhat discreditable result cured Lincoln of an objectionable habit. The author's sympathy is pretty plainly with Shields.

It is a relief to find that he has no interest in the roseate vapors which the sentimentalists are just now blowing this way and that, weaving a rhetorical iridescence about the figures of all the Lincolns. There is none of the eager gossip upon the origin of Nancy Hanks that runs riot in some popular books. A long note confuses, or ought to confuse, the gullible heroinizers by setting side by side the conflicting descriptions of her by contemporaries. Sentimentality gets no quarter in any connection. The famous story that the sermon over Nancy's grave was brought about by a letter of her little son Abraham to a circuit rider, is tossed aside by pointing out that Abraham at that age could not write. The still more famous story, told "thirty years later at a political convention" by John Hanks, about Lincoln's anger in the New Orleans slave market, is plainly disbelieved by the author but he does not quite say so. Is not this a case that exposes the weakness of the theory of no interpretation in biography? All the evidence which is here amassed is out of key with the New Orleans story. Should not the author have ignored it—or, at most, dismissed it in a foot-note? There are one or two other places where the evidence is not authoritative and where by evading interpretation the text for a moment appears weak. The furiously debated question of what really took place in connection with "the fatal first of January", 1841, when Lincoln's engagement to Mary Todd was broken, is treated almost craftily: a bare summary of the known facts, no opinion by the author, but a skilful placing of certain bits of evidence so as to produce the effect of an assertion. It should be understood that the reader is always given an exact documentation for all evidence. Candid the book always is. But that very candor raises a question. Does it throw too much responsibility upon the reader? For example, look at page 355, volume I. There is no intrusion of the author in that succinct review of Lincoln's attitude toward his marriage. But all the quotations from contemporaries are in a sustained vein. One of them is a remark

made by Lincoln to a boy, who long afterward repeated it to a man, who told it to Mr. Beveridge, June 15, 1924. In this case is not arrangement the same thing as interpretation?

Of the large historical issues involved in this complicated narrative two arrest attention. Mr. Beveridge had been genuinely shocked by his study of abolitionist literature. His reaction from a traditional glorification of the abolition movement was extreme. In conversation he spoke with disdain of the "lies" upon which the North and the West had been brought up. His first chapter, volume II., is an indictment of the abolitionist propaganda carried out altogether on his own plan of letting the facts speak for themselves.

His treatment of the Compromise of 1850 is the one important matter upon which the reviewer feels constrained to dissent. It is a careful following of the controversy through the *Congressional Globe* reinforced by some but not a great deal of newspaper quotation. The mode of using newspapers is the prevalent one brought into vogue by Professor McMaster—treating their contents as a cloud of straws indicating the currents of the air. But what many of us want to know is not the fact of the currents—that is so easy to establish—but their strength and their significance. This is the difficult matter. Obviously, the episode of the Compromise, if it is not to be regarded as a mere interlude in this story, has its significance as the beginning of the reactions that developed steadily into secession and war. All historians have recognized the Northern reaction, the agitation for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and Mr. Beveridge follows the accepted tradition, contributing an illuminating chapter on this topic. But he also follows tradition in his scant attention to the Southern reaction. Few historians have taken seriously the secession movement of 1851; very few have done justice to the precise nature of the force which defeated that movement. Mr. Beveridge falls into the old error of making no distinction between "Unionism" North and South. Therefore, probably, he fails to see how pregnant with new danger were the forces that checked secession in 1851, how deeply opportunistic they were. What the North missed at the time, what Lincoln probably never understood—certainly not until after he became President—was the fact that what the South was most concerned about, in the 'fifties, was not slavery *per se*, but that vague sense of independence which we have learned to call self-determination. This is essential to Lincoln's story because in 1860 it was the clue to Southern action. And Lincoln was unaware of its existence. The failure to lay the foundation of Lincoln's misapprehension, while treating of 1850, is Mr. Beveridge's one serious fault.

Taken altogether, making every allowance for peculiarities of method, and for occasional omissions the book remains an invaluable contribution.

N. W. STEPHENSON.

The American Secretaries of State and their Diplomacy. Edited by SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS, Professor of History in George Washington University. Volume VII.; *William H. Seward*, by HENRY W. TEMPLE; *Elihu B. Washburne* and *Hamilton Fish*, by JOSEPH V. FULLER; *William M. Evarts*, by CLAUDE G. BOWERS and HELEN D. REID; and *James G. Blaine*, by JOSEPH B. LOCKEY; volume VIII.: *Frederick T. Frelinghuysen*, by PHILIP M. BROWN; *Thomas F. Bayard*, by LESTER B. SHIPPEE; *James G. Blaine* (second part), by JOSEPH B. LOCKEY; *John W. Foster*, by WILLIAM R. CASTLE, JR.; *Walter Q. Gresham* and *Richard Olney*, by MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1928. Pp. x, 340; x, 367. \$4.00 each.)

VOLUME VII. treats of five secretaries of state, whose service covered twenty-one years; volume VIII. of six, who served sixteen years. In relation to each other, and to the previous volumes of the series, it would seem that the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction, the theme of volume VII., is scanty.

The period as a whole is a difficult one, as almost every change in secretary meant a change in policy. Most secretaries encountered some outstanding problem, and centred their interest in it. Nevertheless, many minor threads ran along continuously from administration to administration. Editorial control has succeeded in bringing some order out of this chaos, by arranging for the concentrated treatment of some such subjects as Samoa, rather than allowing piece-meal reference in each secretariat. Proper credit has been given to A. A. Adey for his labor in keeping some such order in our diplomacy, but one could wish that similar recognition had been accorded William Hunter. One regrets, too, that a better standard of expression has not been maintained. An historical text should at least be clear, but the reviewer was from time to time left in honest doubt as to what meaning was intended.

The best of the sketches is that of Hamilton Fish, by J. V. Fuller. This goes far towards making up for the strange and unfortunate lack of a biography of this quiet and capable statesman. It deals ably and convincingly with the complex situation during Grant's administration, which is generally presented with the distorting color of partizanship. One could wish for a more definite treatment of Mr. Fish's general ideas on American foreign policy, particularly in connection with expansion. In the bibliography one misses some familiar titles, but the article, as are all the others, is independently based on the primary evidence.

Mr. Temple's *W. H. Seward* is admirable from the political point of view. It falls short, however, of the object of the series. The break in personnel and in policy which followed the triumph of the Republican party, as in connection with the slave trade and our relations with the negro republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo, deserves consideration. The account of the purchase of Alaska is inadequate and antiquated. A word

should have been accorded the Russian researches of Dr. Golder. In short the account is readable and a contribution, but it does not serve well the purpose for which it is designed.

Mr. Bowers and Miss Reid do very well by W. M. Evarts. Proper emphasis is laid upon his activity in handling the legal business of the department. His important declarations on canal policy and his peculiar treaty with Samoa, however, are dealt with too briefly. Mr. Lockey's two sketches of J. G. Blaine are sound and clear. Considering, however, the important results of Blaine's drastic and radical action it would seem that Mr. Lockey should have been given more space. One consequence of this cramping is that Mr. Blaine seems singularly absent. It was, perhaps, proper to give a greater proportionate attention to those secretaries not familiar and for knowledge of whom one will naturally turn to this series, but Blaine's diplomacy was so clearly connected with his position in the nation, and particularly with his continuous and powerful influence with the Senate, that one seems here to be dealing with a shadow. In particular the antecedents of Blaine's American policy and his attitude toward Samoa need more intensive discussion. This is perhaps the most striking illustration of what one feels generally, and probably inevitably, in these later sketches as compared with those of earlier volumes, a sense of formality and unreality.

Mr. Brown's F. T. Frelinghuysen, Mr. Shippee's T. F. Bayard, Mr. Castle's J. W. Foster, and Mr. Schuyler's Richard Olney, combine to make a valuable and interesting volume. All are well suited to their purpose, and present clearly basic facts; all give the best extant accounts of their respective subjects. Separately they all present able and conscientious Americans, combined they unfold a sorry tale of American diplomacy. The carefully chosen adjectives which close the volume with Richard Olney may indicate the only serious criticism that might be made of all. Olney "will stand for a long time as one of the most vigorous, resolute and independent men who have ever held" the office. Will he not stand for several other things less commendable?

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

The Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865. By FRED ALBERT SHANNON, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, Kansas State Agricultural College. Two volumes. (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company. 1928. Pp. 323, 348. \$25.00.)

THESE two volumes tell of the feeding, clothing, and munitioning of the Federal armies; the discipline and daily life of the soldiers; and the methods by which the armies were raised. Dry subjects, that could easily be made dull reading, but Dr. Shannon has written with such spirit that the interest never flags. He has gathered a mass of valuable information which, on the whole, he treats with discrimination; but he lays on the darker colors of the picture with so heavy a hand that the result is unduly sombre.

It is not surprising that the government, totally inexperienced in the conduct of a great war, should have, at the first, made serious mistakes; and that corruption, profiteering, and inefficiency were widespread. The wonder is that the chaos should have been reduced so quickly to comparative order.

The tone of the book is set in the opening chapter on the State Rights Principle Applied to the Army: "The abolitionist would fight to free the slaves, the Kentuckian to save the Union so that slavery might be preserved. The capitalist would fight, by proxy, to preserve the southern market and to exclude therefrom the competition of foreign states. The frontier states would fight to keep the far West negroless and open for their settlement. The older settlements west of the Alleghanies and north of the Ohio would fight, when at all, for sentiment or for various of the other mentioned motives. The wage victims of the industrial revolution would fight, if at all, by compulsion or for pay. . . . One bloc of states represented one interest, another represented another. Each was careful to see that its rights were not impaired either by neighbors or by national encroachment.

How, then, should the armies be recruited, trained, and mobilized, and the war conducted? If by the nation, then one section might predominate over another and subvert the other's men and money to its own interests. State interest, therefore, dictated that the troops should be raised and managed, and that the war policies should be controlled, as far as possible, by the individual states."

In the chapter on the feeding and clothing of the volunteers stress is laid on the "shoddy uniforms", "sleazy and rotten blankets" and "rusty and putrid pork" with which the troops were supplied. But, as a matter of fact, these abuses were materially checked soon after the advent of Meigs as quartermaster-general in June, 1861.

The chapter on the evolution of discipline leaves much to be desired. Many instances are cited to illustrate the ineptness of the volunteers and, in particular, of their officers. These, however, relate almost entirely to the opening months of the war; though this is not made clear to the reader who, unless he is careful, will reach the conclusion that in the opinion of the author the armies that marched with Sherman to the sea and fought with Grant in the Wilderness were little better than "armed mobs and not very well armed at that".

Nor should the author's comments as to regular and volunteer officers pass unchallenged. They are based, apparently, upon an article that appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in June, 1864, by Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Colonel Higginson's experience was limited to service in two quiet sectors, on the coast of North Carolina for a few months and on the sea islands of South Carolina in command of a colored regiment for the rest of the time. He was hardly, therefore, in a position to write from personal knowledge of the relative merits of the two classes of officers in the fighting armies. But Dr. Shannon has practically adopted

Colonel Higginson's conclusions as his own, for the *Atlantic Monthly* article is paraphrased or given by direct quotation throughout the chapter. Nor is any reference made to the able discussion of this subject by General Jacob D. Cox in his *Memoirs*. One could hardly ask for a more experienced authority; yet his book is not named in the bibliography given of works consulted.

Dr. Shannon's own opinion is that "either West Point training or long experience in the army were imperative as a part of the equipment of a first-class officer". "All the general officers and their aides and at least the colonels for each regiment [of volunteers should have been appointed] from the more than eleven hundred commissioned officers in the regular army. Of the more than fifteen thousand privates and non-commissioned officers remaining a large majority would have proved valuable as captains, lieutenants and sergeants."

But there were types of regular officers wholly unfitted to command American volunteers; not alone the wooden conservatives of the ordnance bureau, as described by the author, who refused to supply efficient breech-loading rifles until near the close of the war; nor the still more numerous type, efficient and courageous, who through lack of understanding failed with citizen soldiers. And when one considers the ne'er-do-well illiterate immigrants that filled the ranks of the old army, we can only wonder at what would have happened had a "large majority" of them been placed in immediate command of American volunteers. The officers and enlisted men could have been utilized as the Confederates utilized their trained soldiers, to organize and drill recruits, and, if selected for appointment, to command them. But to have forced them arbitrarily upon the volunteers would have been disastrous. That the United States Regular Army was kept intact, was due, not as Dr. Shannon seems to imply, to the War Department, but to the Regulars themselves and, in particular, to General Scott.

The chapters covering the collapse of state recruiting and the operation of the Enrollment Act are of special interest; but here, as elsewhere, the author over-emphasizes the disagreeable. Perhaps he feels that our complacency should be punctured, but if we are to understand properly what actually happened and why it happened, both sides should be given in equal degree. His failure in this respect is the most serious defect of the book.

The Confederate Privateers. By WILLIAM MORRISON ROBINSON, JR.
(New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. Pp. xvi, 372.
\$4.00.)

So far as the present reviewer knows, there has never been a volume dealing adequately with the privateers which operated during the Civil War under the sanction of the Confederate government until the appearance of this very admirable one for which there has always been a crying need; for, as the author rightly points out, the subject has been sadly

neglected, even by the best naval authorities. Such otherwise excellent works as *The Abolition of Privateering and the Declaration of Paris*, by Francis R. Stark (1897), and *La Guerre de Course*, by Charles LaMache (1901), hardly mention it, Stark merely noting incidentally President Davis's invitation to apply for letters of marque; and LaMache, while devoting several pages to the Confederate commerce-destroyers, omitting specific reference to privately armed vessels. Edgar Stanton Maclay's *History of American Privateers* (1899) contains "two scant and inaccurate pages on the privateers of the Confederacy and makes no mention of the privately armed vessels of the Republic of Texas in the years 1834 and 1835". John Thomas Scharf, in his *History of the Confederate States Navy*, (1887) which still remains the sole work on Confederate sea power as a whole, gives but a single chapter to the privateers, and this contains serious errors, which Mr. Robinson is at some pains to point out. This neglect on the part of even the best writers comes, of course, chiefly from a lack of authoritative data, for, while those concerning the Union forces became available a few years ago, on the completion, so far as the North is concerned, of the monumental *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, the records of the Confederate vessels have just been finished and published. It is therefore hardly surprising that the Confederate President himself, in his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (1881), makes but scanty and in some instances erroneous references to Southern privateers. Perhaps less excusable were the authors of *Sea Power in American History*, which was published as late as 1920, in devoting but a single paragraph to the Confederate privateers, and making the statement that these vessels "all were sailing-craft", although five of them were steamers.

Mr. Robinson modestly disclaims any intent to be "adversely critical", wishing merely to show "that there is no real bibliography on those last privateers in the world's history. One must be referred to the newspapers of the 'sixties, the *Official Records*, and the unpublished archives of the Navy Department. The writer has made prolonged researches at these sources. Doubtless from time to time, old diaries, correspondence, and even log books may be found in the possession of descendants of Confederate privateersmen, which will supplement, perhaps even revise, some of the tales told in this volume, and very likely add new ones."

The style of Mr. Robinson's narrative is far from formal, in fact almost jocular at times, but from an historical viewpoint it does not appear to suffer on this account, and the prime quality of a chronicler is always present, of giving "chapter and verse" as proof of every statement made.

Always possessed of a good deal of the romantic, privateering has ever been stigmatized by enemy merchants as nothing but piracy under another name, and legal hairsplitting arose during the course of every war, especially when a foreigner engaged in privateering under a flag not his own. In the Civil War President Jefferson Davis, on April 17, 1861,

issued a proclamation inviting applications for letters of marque and reprisal. Two days later, on the nineteenth, President Lincoln issued a counter-proclamation, declaring that if "any person, under the pretended authority of the said States, or under any pretense, shall molest a vessel of the United States, or the persons or cargo on board of her, such person will be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the prevention and punishment of piracy". The bitterness engendered by this phase of the war was greatly increased by the enlarged scope given the privately armed vessels by the Confederate government, a bounty being offered for the destruction of enemy war vessels, the traditional policy, that the merchantman is the natural quarry of the privateer, at least in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, being thus departed from, in a way to arouse resentment in the United States and to cause international episodes of a serious nature. As a matter of fact, the Confederate government overreached itself in this, for the neutral governments in the event not only refused entry to the prize vessels, but commanded their citizens to refrain, conformably to the spirit of the Declaration of Paris, from fitting out privateers under the flag of either belligerent.

The story of the Confederate privateers is one of adventure and enterprise. How much effect their operations, which took place in both the Atlantic and the Pacific, actually had on the development and result of the war is problematical. As Mr. Robinson says, the day of privateers had already passed in 1861, and, in spite of individual successes, they accomplished comparatively little. Their futility was seen by the Southern leaders very soon, and John Slidell, the Confederate commissioner at Paris, wrote his Department of State as early as February 11, 1862: "It is quite evident that privateering is an arm which can no longer be used to advantage. The chief, I may say the only, object of the owners, officers, and crews of privateers is prize money. So long as our own coast is blockaded, and our prizes are not admitted into any neutral port, there can be no inducement to fit out private armed vessels. Why not, then, abandon a system which experience has demonstrated to be an absolute failure, and which, while innocuous to our foes, is the subject of bitter commentary by our enemies, and warmly deprecated by our friends in Europe?"

On the whole, it is not too much to say that this volume by Mr. Robinson takes its place among the indispensable works on the Civil War.

EDWARD BRECK.

The Southwestern Frontier, 1865-1881. By CARL COKE RISTER, Ph.D., Professor of History, Simmons University. (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company. 1928. Pp. 336. \$6.00.)

As used in this book, the term "Southwestern Frontier" connotes, roughly, southwestern Kansas, the old Indian Territory, central and western Texas, and New Mexico east of the Rio Grande. More strictly speaking, however, it is the Texas frontier, the Indian wilderness stretch-

ing westward from a line connecting Dallas and Austin in that state. The theme of the work is the evolution of this vast area from a state of barbarism, through the buffalo-hunting and cattle-ranching stages, to the coming of the permanent settler. A brief consideration of the various Indian tribes living in the region is followed by a detailed account of the occupation of it by federal troops and the establishment of the numerous military posts there prior to the Civil War. Brief mention is also made of Butterfield's Overland Stage as a civilizing agency in this earlier period.

During the war the Confederate flag largely displaced the Federal colors throughout this area, and the turbulence and devastation of the war years actually brought about a recession rather than an advance of the frontier. With the conclusion of hostilities the federal government was confronted by a two-fold task. The army posts must be restored and reoccupied in order to repel Indian forays; at the same time, steps must be taken to remove the red man from large portions of the region and to confine him to certain restricted areas.

The reoccupation of the posts was effected with despatch, and the military arm of the government was ready to function. While the civil authority, working through the Indian Commission, began negotiations with various Southwestern tribes as early as 1867, with a view to the withdrawal of the natives from the region, and the construction of railways through their country, the time had not yet arrived for the Indian to relinquish peaceably his hold upon his ancient hunting grounds.

A decade of gradual advance by the more daring settlers, of stubborn resistance by the native, of lawless and fraudulent trading with the Indian, of cattle thieving, Indian depredations upon white settlements, and punitive expeditions by the military, must supervene before the prairie could be cleared of the savages and the way paved for the rush of population into the Southwest. A "defensive policy" by the army was forced to yield to one of aggression, and there followed a series of bloody campaigns in the panhandle and on the Rio Grande frontier before the Indians were finally rounded up on the reservations in 1879-1880.

Following the rather dreary story of Indian wars, Professor Rister gives us four very interesting chapters portraying the transition to a state of settled society. Buffalo hunting as a factor in Southwestern development is well handled and the cattle industry as a stage in frontier evolution is also dealt with in an interesting manner. A chapter on the Building of Railways treats very briefly the relation of the railway to the passing of the frontier. Finally, under the caption, Problems of Frontier Life, the author covers the whole gamut of subjects, from frontier lawlessness and debauchery to religious and educational developments.

Professor Rister has made extensive use of sources which hitherto have received little attention. These are found in the Old Records Sec-

tion, Adjutant-General's Office, War Department, Washington. They are in both manuscript and printed form, and give detailed data regarding not only the activities of the military forces in the Southwest, but also social conditions throughout the region. Much use has also been made of House and Senate documents of the federal government and of the public documents of the state of Texas.

The format of the volume is attractive and a rather complete index adds to the usefulness of the book. Beyond doubt, Professor Rister has given us our most satisfactory unified account of the Southwestern frontier during the period in question. The most original, but least interesting, portion of the book is the description of the military advance and the subsequent Indian campaigns. The reviewer is strongly of the opinion that the value of the work would have been enhanced had some details of the early period been sacrificed in the interest of a more complete account of the actual passing of the frontier. The opportunity for original contribution to the history of the cattle industry of the Southwest as a factor in frontier development is largely neglected. Nor is adequate attention given to the part of the railway in the permanent settlement of the country. The reader is left with a desire to know more about the process of settlement, who the settlers were, where they came from, and the various agencies for the promotion of settlement.

JAMES B. HEDGES.

American Policy Toward Russia since 1917. By FREDERICK LEWIS SCHUMAN, Ph.D. (New York: International Publishers. 1928. Pp. 399. \$3.75.)

THIS book is a somewhat detailed study of the history of American policy toward Soviet Russia since 1917, based in the main on printed sources available in English. The manuscript materials to be found at the Department of State have not provided much for the author and it is rather doubtful whether they would in any case afford fresh information of importance. An introductory chapter on the historical tradition of Russian-American friendship leads at once to the revolution of 1917. By chapter XI. we have reached the year 1928 in orderly historical sequence. There follow four chapters in which the author discusses the policy of recognition, the propaganda of world revolution, repudiation of debts, and confiscation of property. He then attempts to summarize the general situation. Appendixes of documents (previously published), reference notes by numbered chapter headings (but without titles), a bibliography of books printed in English, together with three rough sketch-maps, and a fair index complete the equipment of the book. The historical portions of the volume are well done though one or two minor errors can be pointed out. In the more controversial and later sections the author undoubtedly tries to be impartial, but on the whole criticizes American policy and favors prompt recognition of Soviet authority, though he agrees that such a step is unlikely in the near future.

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There is at times a certain looseness of phraseology that a more careful reading of the manuscript would have prevented. Thus Armenia, Syria, and Palestine are referred to as having been German territories prior to the peace (p. 38). Speaking of the Czechoslovak forces in Russia the author states (p. 94) that "all plans of going to France were abandoned" in the end of June, 1918, though (p. 96) he quotes Czech officials as saying on July 3 and 4 that they wished to proceed to France and to assist the Allies on the western front. The statement about the confusion regarding the invitation to the United States in May, 1922, to send representatives to the meeting at the Hague to discuss Russian affairs is itself confusing (p. 221). As a matter of fact there were two invitations—one, to attend a committee on Russia (from France) and, two, to attend the Hague conference. The second invitation was declined and nothing came of the first proposal (cf. *The International Interpreter*, June 10, 1922). When (p. 311) the author mentions the United States as having assisted Denikin, Yudenitch, and Wrangel there is of course an error of fact. The author seems to swallow the Raymond Robbins story (p. 76) of a sincere Russian appeal in 1918 to prevent the acceptance of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. He ignores the fact that Lenin had on January 8 given to a meeting of Bolshevik leaders his defense of the proposed treaty. These theses were later published in the *Izvestia* of March 8. He likewise omits all reference to Zinoviev's public boast that at this time, "We slapped the President of the United States in the face". Indeed the omission of many of the more bellicose Russian denunciations of American policy might lead the average reader to suppose that mistakes in diplomacy had been chiefly by the United States. He concludes (p. 315) that "the wisdom and propriety of the American position as judged both by legal and by political considerations seem open to serious question". This may very well be true, for the matters at issue between the United States and Russia could possibly be adjusted on paper without much difficulty. What the author does not emphasize is that in reality American policy is chiefly controlled by opportunism and self-interest. When it is to the advantage of the United States to recognize Russia she will undoubtedly do so. So far it has not been, for a variety of reasons.

As a whole the book is loosely written, making use of such barbarous terms as "motivated", yet it is a good historical survey which should be useful if read with a careful eye.

A. L. P. D.

Survey of American Foreign Relations, 1928. By CHARLES P. HOWLAND, Director of Research of the Council on Foreign Relations. Research Associate in Government in Yale University. [Publications of the Council on Foreign Relations.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. Pp. xiv, 610. \$5.00.)

THIS book is the first of a series of volumes on the foreign relations of the United States, to be published by the Council of Foreign Relations.

The plan is to choose subjects each year "in which a culmination of some sort has thrown the question involved into high light, or those which have come to a stage of temporary unrest and so allow of deliberate examination" (p. vii). The field to be covered is not to be limited strictly to political matters but will extend to "those of an economic character which may have a political outlook, domestic or international" (p. vii). The historical background of each topic is also to be given. Each volume is to bear the date of the year of its publication. The present volume carries the topics roughly to January 1, 1928, and does not treat of events in 1928, as one might infer from the title. The book is a coöperative one; beside the work of Mr. Howland, certain chapters and sections were written by Arthur Bullard, H. B. Elliston, and Quincy Wright. Before publication the volume was submitted for criticism to a group of specialists, whose names appear in the preface.

Planned and sponsored in this manner the new series makes an auspicious start in the volume under review. The book is composed of five sections, each of which is divided into chapters which treat of various phases of the topic under discussion. In section I., on American Foreign Policy, the factors and forces underlying it are first related, followed by a summary of the traditions of our policy and the development of domestic control of foreign affairs. Section II., on the United States as an Economic Power, opens with a survey of American commercial expansion and the change of outlook caused by the fact that the United States has become a creditor nation. This leads naturally to a treatment of the State Department's supervision of foreign loans. The final chapter in the section deals with the international implications of gold distribution and the problem of the United States in its attempts to control the relation between gold and credit. Section III., on the United States and the League of Nations, gives an historical background for the League and then traces the relations of the United States to the League, showing how, from a policy of communicating with the League only indirectly through a third party, our government has gradually arrived at an open and official participation in questions taken up by the League for solution. Section IV., on Financial Relations of the United States Government after the World War, deals with reparations and debts, questions greatly complicated by the refusal of the United States to join the League of Nations. Again a policy of aloofness has been changed to a policy of coöperation. A basic difference of opinion between European governments and the United States arose from the American standpoint that debts and reparations were distinct and separate affairs, a distinction extremely difficult to maintain. Section V. relates to the Limitation of Armament. After describing the success of the Washington Conference in 1921, it traces the further attempts at limiting armaments and goes rather deeply into the basic reasons for the failure of these later conferences. It is contended that the meaning of "equality" will have to be cleared up before there can be an agreement on naval policy between Great Britain and the United

States. Underlying this is the real issue of what has been called "the freedom of the seas". This question is treated historically and the volume closes with suggestions for an Anglo-American naval understanding.

The book is a valuable addition to the rapidly growing literature on our foreign relations. It provides an excellent survey of a number of the most disputed points of policy which are facing the United States—questions which must be more generally comprehended if they are to be settled permanently and justly. It is but natural that in this field there should be differences of opinion and the volume under discussion bristles with potential controversies, but on the whole it has succeeded in its avowed purpose of presenting "an unbiased statement of facts and a fair interpretation of policy" (p. viii). Because of its topical arrangement of the subject-matter and its coöperative treatment, there is a lack of unity in the narrative which is somewhat disconcerting to the reader. One criticism of editorship may be made. Direct quotations are frequently made for which no page citations are given, for example on pages 31, 34, 35, 43, 45, 67, 70, 87—to mention only a few such omissions. This is a matter which ought to be corrected in later volumes.

EVERETT S. BROWN.

Province and Court Records of Maine. Volume I., 1636-1668.

Edited by CHARLES THORNTON LIBBY. (Portland: Maine Historical Society. 1928. Pp. lx, 352. \$10.00.)

ONCE again, as so often before, the Maine Historical Society, soon to celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of its birth, has placed the historian in its debt by issuing a new collection of colonial records relating to the history of the state. The volume before us contains the still extant unprinted records of the province of Maine, covering the years 1636 to 1652 and 1661 to 1668, while the colony was under the governmental control of the Gorges family and the commissioners of Charles II. When means afford the society proposes to add two more volumes carrying the subject to 1689. The present instalment comprises the Gorges charter of 1639, sundry commissions and instructions issued during these years, the proceedings of various courts (which constitute the bulk of the volume), and a few wills and inventories of a particularly interesting character.

All these documents are of value, partly, as showing the way the government was organized during these early years in the frontier towns and villages between the Piscataqua and the Penobscot, and, partly, as throwing a flood of light upon the activities of the settlers and the conditions under which they lived. One understands better what Winthrop meant when he spoke of Agamenticus (Georgeana or York) as a poor village and its mayor a tailor, and though the contentious minister to whom he refers finds no mention in these pages, a successor, one Burdett, does find place and fairly emulates Lyford of the Plymouth colony in scandalous conduct. Because of the interest that these documents have for men and women and manners we can but regret that the editor, Mr.

Libby, who has executed his editorial function with meticulous care, should have devoted so large a part of his introduction to tilting at the windmills of legal phraseology in the charter—which he interprets at its face value—and have made so much of the clearly supposititious “hankering after the fleshpots of villeinage” by Gorges and others of his kind; for Mr. Libby is quite wrong in what he considers “the essence of villeinage”. What Gorges wanted, as well as what other seignorial leaders of that time and for a century afterwards wanted, was tenants not villeins, and there is a wide difference between a tenant “who was not to depart from the place where he is once planted” and one with the status of a villein. Mr. Libby’s phrases are often labored and extravagant and his adjectives are not always well chosen; while his facetiousness, his occasional sour humor, and his manifest dislike of class distinctions, his antipathy toward Gorges, Maverick, the Stuarts, and feudal institutions generally, and his hostility for Massachusetts (pp. lvi, 82) do not arouse confidence in his opinions.

A preliminary essay on the social, religious, and governmental conditions in Maine during these years would have been very welcome. The settlers, from whose point of view Mr. Libby says he has written, were not above abusing their own government, and their loose moral standards appear frequently in these pages. The courts, some of them at least, exercised both judicial and legislative functions, and are called at times “General Courts”. A “General Assembly” is mentioned later. There were town-meetings, with selectmen, grand inquests with their presentments, trial by jury, and “Crown’s Quests”. Religious intentions were unusually good, and on page 136, October 16, 1649, is given an order of the general court proclaiming religious liberty (“in a Christian way”), that is quite as important as the similar declarations of Rhode Island and Maryland and much less well known. Rigid orders against lying and absence from church are frequent, but both seem to have been better obeyed in the breach than in the observance. The society with which these documents deal is that of the frontier, rough, unconventional, and restless of law and order.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

A History of Canada. By CARL WITTKE, A.M., Ph.D., Professor of History in Ohio State University. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1928. Pp. xx, 398, xviii. \$7.50.)

In the past the history of Canada has not received much attention in the United States and Professor Wittke’s book is evidence of awakening interest. It is comprehensive and, while no phase of Canada’s history is neglected, more than half of the book deals with the period since the federation of Canada in 1867. The book is therefore chiefly one for the reader who wishes to learn how and why Canada has reached her present status, ranking as a full nation, on a basis of at least nominal equality with Great Britain, with her own envoys to foreign countries, and yet con-

tinuing the political tie with other parts of the British Empire under a common sovereign. It is a story of growth and as one reads it one wonders whether, but for misunderstanding and blundering not confined to one side, Great Britain and the former colonies might not each have maintained a full independence and yet have remained united by the ties of confidence and affection which today exist between Great Britain and Canada. History is in truth as much a sad record of futility as of noble achievement.

Professor Wittke make no claim to be picturesque, but he is always lucid and he writes with complete detachment of mind. Perhaps he is the first writer who, with adequate knowledge of both countries, has tried to cover on a considerable scale the long history of the relations of Canada and the United States. At every turn contact with the people to the south is a dominant feature in Canada's history. During nearly a century French Canada fought the English colonies; the American Revolution and the War of 1812 brought the invasion of Canada from the south; the American Civil War caused fears of aggression which helped to produce federal Canada; and before and since that time the economic policy of the Republic and issues with Great Britain have affected Canada deeply. At the present moment Canada, with only one neighbor, is interested in the naval question and—a fact half-forgotten—so far as the British side is concerned there will never be any war with the United States except by consent of Canada, which would be the chief sufferer in a conflict.

Professor Wittke begins with a chapter on Discovery and Exploration, and then passes lightly over the period of French rule to that of the British conquest, followed so quickly by the American Revolution. He shows the causes of the failure to make Canada the fourteenth state in the new union and describes the Loyalist migration which led to the creation of an English-speaking Canada west of Montreal. In respect of the causes of the War of 1812 he deals gently with the rather aggressive acts of Governor Simcoe in Upper Canada, but he shows that the war was not caused by disputes about orders in council or the right of search, already in the way of settlement, but by the frontiersmen beyond the Alleghanies, who thought that British influence with the Indians would block their expansion and who desired to control the rich fur trade. "I would take the whole Continent" was Henry Clay's aim; while another Kentuckian, Richard M. Johnson, was sure that God's purpose required that the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi should "belong to the same people". Professor Wittke thinks that the war settled forever the destiny of Canada as a separate state.

The rest and the greater part of the book explains the growth of Canada to national status; the discontent with rule by royal governors which led to rebellion in 1837-1838; the consequent sending to Canada for the first time of a man of Cabinet rank, the Earl of Durham, to make enquiries on the spot; his *Report*, which laid bare the causes of discontent,

and the rapid following of efforts to end it. Durham did not favor federation of the French and English provinces, but union, with the dominance of the English element. This led to the uniting of the two races for the first time in a single Parliament. They were too nearly equal in numbers to decide matters of education and religion by a good majority; but the effort to unite them produced in twenty-five years the temper for federation and for local control over education and municipal life.

The later chapters cover political, economic, and social development in a state which, under federal ideas, soon expanded from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Great War had a profound effect in maturing Canada's political outlook and led to the notable declaration of the Imperial Conference in 1926 which, in form at least, made Canada as free a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations as is Great Britain herself. It is a fine story of political evolution told with skill and insight.

A valuable feature of the book is the well-selected lists of printed authorities given at the end of each chapter. Hitherto it has not been easy for readers in the United States to get this information. Students will be grateful for such aid, and for the seven excellent maps. Inevitably there are a few slips. The Quebec Act which aroused Alexander Hamilton and other leaders in the American Revolution has never been repealed (p. 59). The Revolutionary War and the later act, in 1791, setting up legislatures in Canada, modified the incidence of the act but some of its conditions still hold, particularly those which relate to religion in Quebec. There is no Canadian Pacific Railroad (p. 237); such lines are always railways in Canada as in England. The convention has as yet no legal status in Canada; the federation was shaped in a conference (p. 182). The statement as to jurisdiction in respect of divorce is inexact (p. 192). In theory at least the speaker is as much detached from party in Canada as he is in England (p. 194). Since this book was written Nova Scotia has abolished its second chamber (p. 197), and all the Canadian provinces but Quebec are now unicameral; also Canada has now named ministers to both France and Japan (p. 348).

GEORGE M. WRONG.

MINOR NOTICES

Old Post Bags: the Story of the Sending of a Letter in Ancient and Modern Times. By Alvin F. Harlow. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1928, pp. xviii, 500, \$5.00.) This is a very attractive book. It tells pleasingly all, or nearly all, that the ordinarily well-informed person can desire to know about an institution, to which, in general, he gives but little thought. Like the sun and the fresh air, the post-office, because of its universality, receives no attention unless it happens to make a slip in its functioning. That it has an interesting story is obvious, and here it is told very well. But the title of the book is apt to mislead. Read along with the rather long subtitle, the purpose of the writer is plain enough, but a title should not require an explanation.

The volume covers a wide range, extending from the relay system in use in Persia 600 years before our era to the air service between New York and San Francisco. Under the author's entertaining guidance, we may observe the great governmental system of Imperial Rome, known as the *Cursus Publicus*; may wonder at the enterprise of the Thurn and Taxis family, who for centuries provided postal facilities to the countries of continental Europe; and linger a little over the development of the British post-office, which culminated in the penny postage. The author might spend an hour or two with advantage over the evidence gathered in 1843-1844 by a parliamentary committee, on whose findings depended the vacillating fortunes of penny postage. Some of the facts adduced would find a fitting place in his interesting book.

As the story shifts to this side of the Atlantic its interest increases. More than half the book is taken up with the American post-office. The account of the colonial posts leaves something to be desired in completeness, but on the whole there is little occasion for complaint. One can visualize the marvellous development of the mail service, which followed pantingly the migrations of groups over the whole of the territories of the United States. The post-office was not indifferently taken for granted in those days. The line-up before the wicket in the San Francisco post-office in 1849 was apt to begin 24 hours before it opened; and twenty-five, and sometimes as much as fifty dollars were paid for a good position in the line.

A word must be said of the excellent printing and illustrations. The latter, which are numerous, are taken mostly from contemporary cuts and engravings, and do really illustrate the text, besides furnishing pleasure in themselves.

Spain and Spanish America in the Libraries of the University of California: a Catalogue of Books. (Berkeley, University of California Library, 1928, pp. 846.) This is, in a sense, the bibliographical age. An increasing emphasis is being laid, not only on the bibliography of historical matters but of all the branches of knowledge. The union catalogue, which is being compiled in the Library of Congress; the project for coöperative bibliography covering the Americas, endorsed by the Pan American Conference at Havana in 1928, the preliminaries of which are now being arranged; the Wilgus project for a critical bibliography of Hispanic America (now made a part of the tentative agenda of the project mentioned immediately above); the project to list all official documents of Hispanic America, undertaken by a committee of the American Library Association; and the comprehensive bibliography of Florida now being compiled under the auspices of the Florida State Historical Society—these are only a few of the outstanding projects in progress.

Now comes the volume which forms the subject of this review—the forerunner, it is hoped, of similar lists of special materials existing in other large libraries of the United States. It does not profess to be a

"bibliography", but only a "catalogue" or "list" of books. It will prove of interest and use, however, not only to the bibliographer but as well to those interested in the widely diversified classes of material listed.

The volume is the first part of a work to be complete in two parts, although each part is complete in itself. The books listed in this first part (complete as of January 1, 1927) are those in the general library of the university and those of all the departmental and special libraries on the campus at Berkeley, except of the Bancroft library (the contents of which will form the second volume). The work was undertaken largely at the initiative and partially at the expense of Mr. Juan C. Cebrian, a Spaniard who has long been a resident of San Francisco and has made many gifts to the university. It was performed wholly by Miss Alice L. Lyser, of the staff of the university library, who began her work in June, 1925. There are in all some 15,000 titles listed, in alphabetical order by author, and some 6200 cross-references. Miss Lyser has also made a careful subject-index (pp. 759-846), which will enable students to find materials along the lines in which they are interested. Historical titles are very widely represented.

The list shows that the collection is essentially a good working one. It is not remarkable either for its old or its rare volumes, although it has some of both. The great majority of the volumes listed are of the last half of the nineteenth and of the twentieth century. A commendable effort is evidently being made to procure all the best latest materials.

An examination of the volume shows remarkably few errors of commission, and this has been a work of considerable magnitude. The reviewer believes that facility of investigation would be enhanced had Miss Lyser inserted proper catchwords or syllables at the head of each column of the list and the proper classification headings or abbreviated headings at the top of each column of the subject-index. Undoubtedly the volume will find wide use.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire. By A. H. Smith. [English Place-Name Society, ed. A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, vol. V.] (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. xlvii, 352, 20 s.) When the English Place-Name Society some years ago published its programme, it held out the promise of a volume each year. This promise has been abundantly fulfilled; the present volume is the fifth in a series that began in 1924. Like the preceding studies it is a great storehouse of detailed information built up from an intimate knowledge of a variety of documentary sources. It differs, however, from its predecessors in certain important respects; these were concerned with shires in southern England where the local nomenclature is quite varied and in part very ancient, while the present volume deals with a more remote region in the north, the settlement of which seems to belong to a later period. Attention may also be called to the fact that this is the

first volume in the series which may be called the work of a single author, the actual writing as well as the necessary research having been done by Mr. A. H. Smith, sometime fellow in the University of Leeds.

In some respects the results presented are not quite so satisfying as those recorded in the earlier studies. Unlike the sources for the history of the southern shires, which often contain large bodies of material from Anglo-Saxon times, those for the North Riding have little to offer before the Norman period. Early forms are consequently quite rare; and this fact is perhaps responsible for the impression that, while most of the author's interpretations are entirely sound and dependable, the volume presents a considerable number of unsolved problems.

The author deals with about fourteen hundred names, nearly all of which are of Anglian or Scandinavian origin. British names are exceedingly scarce, having been swept away by the invaders from the Continent. The Angles came into the Riding early in the sixth century and remained in control till the second half of the ninth, when the Danes began to settle in considerable numbers. After a generation of Danish occupation the Norwegians came in to share the land. It is the opinion of the editors that this movement came from the northwest, setting out, perhaps, from the Norwegian settlements in Ireland.

L. M. L.

The Doctrine of Necessity in International Law. By Burleigh Cushing Rodick. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1928, pp. x, 195, \$4.00.) This work, presumably a doctoral dissertation, undertakes to examine the traditional maxim that "necessity knows no law" by considering whether or not the doctrine of necessity involved in the action of states may be expressed as a legal principle, operating as an exception to the usual rules of international law. Such a treatment involves the consideration of necessity, carefully distinguishing it, if possible, from self-preservation. In addition there would seem to be involved the problem, based upon the assumption that necessity furnishes a legal exception to a general rule, as to whether or not the extent of the exception is also legal, that is, if its content be legally limited, or if it rest with the doer-state to determine the content. The problem is not a new one, and a half-century ago it was discussed by Lueder under the thesis *Kriegsräson Geht vor Kriegsmanier*. John Westlake examined the doctrine with that thoroughness and discrimination of which he was a master. The present writer undertakes to go into the general doctrine of necessity in peace as well as in war. It must be confessed that his scheme is rather mechanical. He divides his subject between the relations of peace and those of war, taking up in each the bearing of the alleged doctrine upon certain well-known topics of international law: national jurisdiction on the high seas, intercourse, all in times of peace, then, following necessity in relation to the non-amicable modes of redress, he passes to the consideration of necessity in land- and sea-warfare and neutrality. An introduction under-

takes to trace the doctrine from Machiavelli through Grotius, "the modern founder of the doctrine of necessity", to de Martens, as "those who have followed him have contributed little of value". Why this conclusion, when Lueder and Westlake have made lasting contributions, as the author's citations apparently show, is not obvious.

Aside from the mechanical quality of the writer's plan, the book suffers from the lack of those clear distinctions, which ought at least to have been attempted, between necessity, self-defense, and self-preservation. Are these terms synonymous? If not, how do they differ? Senator Borah, when asked recently by a colleague if "there had ever been an attempt in international law to define self-defense", replied: "No, not to define it. A great many international law writers say that the right of self-defense among nations is as inherent and inalienable as the right of self-defense among individuals. . . . You could not define it. Suppose you attempted to define self-defense as to yourself: what would it be? The right to defend yourself. Suppose a nation undertook to define self-defense. It is the right of a nation to defend itself."¹ Q. E. D. Webster gave a famous definition of it in the *Caroline* dispute, and every modern text-writer discusses it. But if each nation determine self-defense for itself, it will do so as to necessity. An historic "necessity" is associated with Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg in August, 1914. If self-defense and necessity so determined are implicit in every treaty, necessity indeed "knows no law". But Mr. Rodick will not have it so and insists not only that necessity is a legal conception but that there are at least seven legal circumscriptions of the idea.

J. S. REEVES.

Weltmächte der Gegenwart. Von Wilhelm Pfeifer. (Leipzig, Friedrich Brandstetter, 1928, pp. xvi, 576, 11 M.) The author has written a popular account of the rise of certain European states—chiefly Russia, Germany, England, and France—and the United States to world power. The first one hundred and fifty pages touch lightly on English expansion, the American colonial period, the expansion of Russia especially in the Caucasus, and then cover the United States to the death of Lincoln. The rest of the volume concerns itself with the countries named, their expansion, rivalries, and frictions from 1870 to 1918. France is treated only from the point of view of her colonial undertakings. In their relation to the above topics, he brings in the Orient, the Balkans, and South Africa. An account of the World War occupies one-fifth of the volume.

There is nothing novel in the material offered or penetrating in its interpretation. The chief novelty in treatment is the scattered character sketches. Dr. Pfeifer has his heroes and villains. In the first group are William Penn, Clive, Washington, Shamil, Lincoln, Bismarck, Kruger, and Admiral Tirpitz. He dissembles a certain admiration for Cecil Rhodes and Theodore Roosevelt, whose careers and imperialism he brack-

¹ *Congressional Record*, Jan. 5, 1929, p. 1281.

ets as parallel. Woodrow Wilson and Sir Edward (Viscount) Grey play the rôles usually assigned them by post-war historians in Germany. William II. is first sketched so that his personality is a good background for Germany's blunders and vagaries, then he slips out of sight behind his uncle, Edward VII., and appears again on the way to the front in 1914 in a state of mind that borders on mental instability.

Another device to enliven the history is to describe stirring events by long excerpts from the memoirs or accounts of participants; but it is sometimes difficult to tell where quotations end and comment begins.

There are many gaps and much unevenness in treatment. Only for Germany is any account given of the rise of industry and science; the period 1908 to 1914 is represented by a brief account of the New Turk movement.

The volume is not to be taken seriously, and is mainly just another book. There is, however, one passage to be commended to our chauvinists and equally to those who think. It is found on pages 349-350, where the author analyzes American imperialism. If one just changed names and phrasing slightly, it would read like a 1914-1918 characterization of Germany and Germans. It is thus that we carefree historians do our bit to fill in between wars waged by our students.

G. S. F.

A Short History of Europe, 1500-1815. By Albert Hyma, University of Michigan. (New York, F. S. Crofts, 1928, pp. xii, 496, \$3.50.) It is not every book of which it can be said that it makes good its promise. The volume under review, however, may justly claim that distinction. In his preface the author sets forth his idea of what a text-book should be: clear and simple in style, concise in statement, its materials so organized as to be easily grasped, its conclusions self-evident and convincing. His own book is an admirable illustration of his ideal. Its outstanding qualities are just those he himself has enumerated, clarity, compactness, intelligibility, reasonableness. In every particular, selection and employment of material, design, construction, interpretation, it is an excellent piece of workmanship. Dr. Hyma aimed to produce a book that would teach, and he has succeeded.

In the arrangement of chapters the author had little choice but to follow the beaten track. In the matter of proportion and emphasis, however, he shows a refreshing freedom from convention. The account of the Reformation, for example, is more ample than the customary text-book narrative, and, it may be added, more just, with a truer appreciation of motives, ends, and significance. Similarly, the Old Régime, the French Revolution, and Napoleon are given rather more than the usual share of space; the Partition of Poland is treated in considerable detail; the Great Elector is accorded a place in keeping with his achievement, not always duly appreciated, as the proto-architect of Prussia; and in the story of the Revolution Carnot stands out with more than ordinary distinctness.

But perhaps the most striking evidence of the author's independence of judgment is afforded by the rather high light in which he places the Dutch, as in many respects the leading nation of the seventeenth century, and at all times a significant, at many critical junctures a decisive, factor in European history, as in the Thirty Years' War, the struggle with Louis XIV., the colonial rivalry of the eighteenth century, the fortunes of Napoleon. All this, of course, is not unknown to the scholar, but it has not generally received due recognition and emphasis in the text-books. Our "standard histories" too often betray a generic tendency to repeat the accepted. Dr. Hyma has not contented himself with the stereotyped; with commendable independence he undertakes a reapportionment on the basis of a fresh census of the facts.

The book is the product of sound scholarship and practical experience, substantial, fair and impartial, reliable, adequate in content, and well adapted to the requirements of a general course.

THEODORE COLLIER.

The Great Revolt in Castile: a Study of the Comunero Movement of 1520-1521. By Henry Latimer Seaver, Associate Professor in the Department of English and History in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928, pp. xi, 293, \$5.00.) Some thirty years ago the appearance of Manuel Danvila's miscalled "critical history" of the revolt of the *Comuneros* of Castile made available six volumes of indispensable documentary material, without, however, providing anything of a trustworthy narrative of that significant chapter of the reign of Charles V. in Spain. On the same subject the older works of Höfler and of Häbler have been superseded by the account in the third volume of R. B. Merriman's *Rise of the Spanish Empire*. Now Professor Seaver has given us the detailed study of the *Comunero* movement. With his emphasis on the internal situation he traces the development of the revolt in Castile in all its ramifications and with commendable clearness and fullness. By careful and painstaking control of Danvila's jumbled documents and by the use of such authorities as Santa Cruz, Mexía, Peter Martyr, Maldonado, Alcocer, and Sandoval, the author presents a complete and critical narrative of the rising and of its involved politics.

The book is both thoroughly documented and attractively made, with many illustrations from photographs and drawings by the author. By way of setting for the general reader, the first eighty pages give a summary of the problems created by the accession of the young Hapsburg monarch to the thrones of the Catholic kings, and carry the story of his first visit to Spain through the cortes of Corunna. The next section records the activities of the cities, the formation of the Santa Junta, and the *Comunero* progress and successes to the royalist recovery of Tor-desillas. The second division of the main narrative treats the course of events through the crushing reverse of Villalar. A short concluding section gives an account of Bishop Acuña's career in Toledo and his

capture, of the French invasion of Navarre, of the final efforts of Padilla's widow Maria Pacheco, and of the treatment of the captured rebel leaders.

Along with rebel excesses and the counsels of violent extremists among the popular party, Professor Seaver presents the moderation and devotion to principle of some of the *Comunero* deputies and a sufficiently complete picture of some of the prominent caballeros in the movement to permit a fairer understanding of their conduct. This is notably true in the case of Pedrolaso de la Vega, whose position is clearly presented (pp. 287-288) and whose defection to the royalist cause appears reasonable, rather than as personal pique. The play of interests among the nobility and the development of measures by the cardinal-regent, the constable, and the admiral are also vividly set forth. The underlying justice of many *Comunero* demands won the recognition of many nobles; even the Count of Benavente who had suffered from the destructiveness of rebel troops, appreciated the force of the appeal for Castilian rights. The constitutional platform of the junta and the chapter on the Great and Just Quarrel of the Valladolid Days are particularly noteworthy. Although the author explains at the outset the practice he will follow in using Spanish names, his consistency in that matter leads to Hispanic spellings of place-names which are in general English usage in anglicized form, as for example, *Sevilla* and *Coruna*. A complete bibliography would have been a convenient addition to this work; the full references in foot-notes and the appraisal of primary authorities in the appendix do, however, meet that general need.

E. DWIGHT SALMON.

Registres du Conseil de Genève. Publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève. Tome XI., de 1528 à 1532. (Geneva, Kundig, 1929.) Volume XI. of the *Registres du Conseil de Genève* is now in page-proof and will be issued shortly under the auspices of the *Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie*. It contains the minutes of the city administration from 1528 to 1532 and thus covers the year 1529—a most important epoch in the slow development of Geneva's progress towards autonomy and self-government.

The editors, MM. Rivoire and van Berchem, merit special homage for the unexampled way in which they have poured time, money, and learning into the enterprise of the publication of these minutes. The crabbed writing of the most unclassical Latin in the originals made consultation of the matter very difficult. The records are now in print from 1409 almost to the eve of the plebiscite of 1536. After that the Latin was changed for French. The publication, accomplished without secretaries and with only limited assistance, scholarly and financial, is an instance of unrewarded, disinterested devotion to the history of a unique city state. And it is a valuable contribution to the history of democracy—a chapter that ought not to be neglected.

On our part, it is to be regretted that Professor Herbert Darling Foster is not still among us to reap the harvest of this latest work of the Genevan gentlemen and to express his appreciation¹—something he was peculiarly qualified to accord. His article on "Geneva before Calvin" (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, VIII. 217) written twenty-five years ago indicated the wealth of information to be culled from Genevan archives. He had a clear vision of the workings of the civic spirit, quite apart from theologic considerations. And, alas! time was not given him to develop his conclusions.

RUTH PUTNAM.

Willem III. en Amsterdam, 1683-1685. Door Gerdina Hendrika Kurtz. (Utrecht, Kemink and Son, 1928, pp. 233, 2.50 fl.) The years set down in this title were part of a period in which the histories of the several nations of Western Europe became partially fused by the pressure of French hegemony into the history of an international resistance. It was the age of Louis XIV., but it was as truly—though perhaps not as pervasively—the age of William III., who by character and destiny was European rather than Dutch. So far is this his rôle that there is a certain oddity in observing him from the point of view of this thesis, as stadholder, struggling with the city of Amsterdam for control of the foreign policy of the Dutch Republic. Amsterdam was by no means European; she was Amsterdam. It takes two to create a situation of obstinacy, and William III. and the Council of Amsterdam were almost equally gifted in this quality. William wanted a European alliance, costly military preparations, war with France. Amsterdam wanted no foreign commitments, the reduction of land forces, peace, economy, and a lowering of taxation, particularly with respect to the tariff. Juffr. Kurtz does even-handed justice to both points of view, and indeed the combatants eyed each other with rancorous respect. William recognized that without Amsterdam there could be no war, no militia, no republic, and therefore no stadholderate. Amsterdam recognized that if Louis XIV. had his way there would be little trade that was not French trade, and a much diminished Amsterdam. Time was on William's side. In 1685 he could write: "Mess. d'Amsterdam paroissent beaucoup moins fiers que par le passé" (p. 174). Though the years 1683-1685 were the critical period, the author continues to sketch the relations of William with Amsterdam after his departure for England. The story is of importance chiefly for the domestic history of the republic, and the history of its foreign policy. With the exception of d'Avaux's *Négociations* it is written almost entirely from Dutch sources, principally those in the archives of Amsterdam. To the foreign reader the thesis will be of interest for the additional light thrown on the character of William III., as also for light on the workings of the most incoherent, enfeebling constitution—not even excepting that of the German Confederation—that has ever stultified the action of a modern state.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

¹ See his review of vol. VIII. in this journal, XXVIII. 771.

British Diplomatic Instructions, 1689-1789. Volume V., Sweden, 1727-1789. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by James Frederick Chance, M.A., V.P.R.Hist.S. (London, Royal Historical Society, 1928, pp. xxvi, 268.) This is the second volume of the Swedish series to be reviewed here (for review of volume I., see XXVIII. 355). The real value of this series for the study of diplomacy and of history has been referred to and credit given for most useful historical introductions (XXXI. 350; XXXII. 356). Besides the official correspondence and papers in the Record Office, certain manuscript collections in the British Museum have been utilized. This period compares most favorably in interest with the preceding. In some very important historical developments (incidentally not unimportant to Americans), Sweden, though no longer able to retain the rank of a first-class power, was somewhat of a factor, especially during the Seven Years' War, the War of American Independence, etc. Sweden was chiefly concerned over the question of Finland, and also over Bremen and Verden. In discussing the possible buying of Swedish soldiers for British uses, certain Hessian transactions, similar to those not unknown to Americans, are mentioned (pp. 117-118). Though Great Britain had no formal diplomatic relations with Sweden between 1748 and 1764, that does not mean, in this book, an entire break. Several attempts were made by Great Britain at reviving intercourse and the instructions to potential envoys are enlightening reading.

Throughout most of the period, we find the Franco-British rivalry being fought out upon this as strenuously as upon any other ground. The unblushing venality of statesmen might surprise us—but this is the eighteenth century. Walpole and Walpolean political philosophy were at their zenith. The same methods used in the House of Commons were applied to foreign legislators but, by the British at any rate, apparently with less success. Most interesting is the contest over the succession in Sweden, waged by three European states, including Great Britain, with lavish expenditures of money. One is reminded of Poland about the same period. The index is again conspicuously good.

ARTHUR IRVING ANDREWS.

The Oldest London Bookshop: a History of Two Hundred Years. By George Smith and Frank Benger. (London, Ellis, 1928, pp. viii, 141, 10 s. 6 d.) The dignity, the easy friendliness, the familiarity with men and letters displayed in *The Oldest London Bookshop* are in the fine tradition of "Ellis", and the story told in the book explains the sense of "quality" that pervades the activities of this ancient house. The narrative is made up of a series of biographies of the proprietors that carries on the history of the firm through the two hundred years of its existence. The second half of the book is given up to the publication of the family correspondence (1751-1806) of James Robson, the second proprietor of 29 New Bond Street. John Brindley, a bookbinder become antiquarian bookseller, moved into the present quarters of the firm in 1728, and

though in no instance in the two centuries has a son succeeded a father as proprietor, the business and its traditions have been maintained without interruption by Brindley, and by James Robson (1759-1806), John Nornaville and William Fell (1806-1830), Thomas and William Boone (1830-1872), Frederick Startridge Ellis (1872-1885), Gilbert Ifold Ellis (1885-1902), and by the authors of the present book, who, with J. J. Holdsworth, now compose the firm. The story of these successive firms of good bookmen as told in *The Oldest London Bookshop*, forms an important record in the history of English bookselling.

Bookmen in general will wish that less space had been given to the Robson correspondence which, though pleasant enough, is hardly in scale with the greater matter it accompanies. Frederick and Gilbert Ellis, acting as agents, procured for a single American library the celebrated Turner-Ellis First Folio, the Eugene of Savoy *Bible* of 1462, the Syston Park-Masterman Sykes *Catholicon* of 1460, the Sunderland copy of Colard Mansion's *Boccace* of 1476, the Ottenbeuren twelfth-century *Graduale et Sacramentarium*, the Horace Walpole illuminated *Psalter*, and the manuscript *Brief Discours* of Samuel de Champlain. These are among the world's monuments, and to have spoken of them and of others of the sort that once passed through the "Ellis" shop, to have related whence they came and whither they went would have been to give greater weight and more varied interest to the story, for after all the glory of a bookseller is his function as the essential agent in the building of great libraries.

LAWRENCE C. WROTH.

British Routes to India. By Halford Lancaster Hoskins, Ph.D., Dickson Professor of History, Tufts College. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1928, pp. xiv, 494, \$7.50.) Professor Hoskins strikes a fresh note in this survey of projects designed to facilitate a shorter and quicker route to India. In part the book naturally deals with diplomatic history, but there are also chapters which review the geographical literature and economic questions involved. As is indicated by quotations in the text and by the foot-notes the author has made a careful study of source-material both in manuscript and in print. The illustrations are interesting and well chosen and the index is good. Certainly the early history of these routes, via Egypt and down the Euphrates Valley to the Persian Gulf, deserves to be rescued from the oblivion which threatened.

The tale begins with the third quarter of the eighteenth century when George Baldwin, an English merchant in Egypt, sought to interest his government in the plan of having despatches between England and India carried by ships to Alexandria, thence by land to Suez, and by ships to Bombay. The Egyptian authorities do not seem to have objected, but the Turks protested that the Red Sea was a sacred highway of Islam leading to holy shrines at Mecca and Medina. The French also were concerned about Egypt and were really the first European nation to draw up plans

which might involve the protection of that country; and the resiliency of India in providing a British force to combat the French army in Egypt gave political and military strategists food for thought. The development of steam navigation soon aroused further interest; but the dilatory tactics of the East India Company in London postponed achievement. General Chesney now conceived of the Euphrates route as feasible and he spent his life in advocating this alternative route. From Syrian ports across the desert to Bagdad was a hazardous journey in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century; but two steamers were soon available on the river and great things were expected from this route.

By the middle of the century the Suez Canal was a project which slowly emerged from the fog of Palmerstonian incredulity, ignorance, and opposition. In 1867 the canal was opened and the concluding portion of the book deals in part with the question of the control of Egypt. Here the author seems to dismiss the history of the past forty years with entirely too brief and cursory a view. The same might also be said of the later history of the alternative route now known as the Bagdad Railway line. Yet with these two exceptions the book is a useful and readable contribution.

A. L. P. D.

L'Église de France sous le Consulat et l'Empire, 1800-1814. Par l'Abbé G. Constant, Docteur ès Lettres, Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. (Paris, Librairie Lecoffre, 1928, pp. xxix, 396, 24 fr.) The aim of this book is to trace the relations between the papacy and the French government during the rule of Napoleon. There is no attempt to discuss, in detail, religious conditions in France before or after the settlement of the schism in the French church. It is primarily a study in diplomacy and, by an ecclesiastic, naturally looks at the problem from the point of view of the Vatican. The story pictures a Napoleon who at first excites enthusiasm among the devout by his championship of religion. "Une politique insensée", he said in a proclamation announcing in 1802 the promulgation of the Concordat, "tenta d'étouffer les dissensions religieuses sous les débris des autels, sous les ruines de la religion même. . . . C'était au Souverain Pontife que l'exemple des siècles et le raison commandaient de recourir, pour rapprocher les opinions et réconcilier les coeurs." This championship is genuine, of the heart, in the opinion of Abbé Constant, but followed after 1806 by a lowering of the moral tone, the product of success, overwhelming ambition, and the desire to play the rôle of a Charlemagne.

The major part of the book deals most interestingly with the intricate and prolonged negotiations, the seven proposals and counter-proposals which preceded the signing of the Concordat. Here reliance is placed upon Boulay de la Meurthe, *Documents sur la Négotiation du Concordat*. For the break between Napoleon and Pius VII. and the events of 1810-1813, the memoirs of Cardinal Consalvi and the memoirs of Cardinal

Pacca (papal pro-secretary of state, 1808-1815) are found particularly useful. Based upon the latter is the thrilling story of the arrest of the pope in 1809.

Throughout the narrative too little attention is paid to the political side of the problem, to Napoleon's reasons as ruler of a state weakened by religious divisions for wishing to heal the breach with Rome, to the part played by the legations and the papal ports in the struggle between the emperor and his enemies, to the pope's anxiety for the temporal power. The abbé has no thoughts for such things. He is a clergyman—who rejoices over the resurrection of the church in France, grieves over the later treatment of the pope, and chants a hosanna as Pius triumphantly reenters the "eternal city" in 1814.

An appendix gives the text of a few important state papers and letters.

HENRY R. SHIPMAN.

Studies in International Law and Relations. By A. Pearce Higgins, C.B.E., K.C., LL.D., Whewell Professor of International Law in the University of Cambridge, Lecturer on International Law at the Royal Naval War and Staff Colleges. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. viii, 314, 15 s.) This volume contains fourteen essays upon a great variety of topics in international law and all but one of them have already appeared in print, revised, however, and to some extent rewritten for publication. Five have appeared in the *British Year Book of International Law*. Seven deal with topics connected with war and neutrality: enemy ships in port at the outbreak of war, submarine cables, ships of war as prizes, retaliation in naval warfare, and armed merchantmen. Three deal with fundamental assumptions and premises of international law, stressing the duties rather than the rights of states. Four are miscellaneous: the Papacy and International Law, the Monroe Doctrine, Grotius as an International Lawyer, and the Locarno Treaties. The title of the volume is obviously sufficiently broad to embrace such a group of essays, which have little unity, other than a consistent point of view. Professor Higgins is always accurate in statement, careful in analysis, and generally fair in conclusion, but not particularly subtle in thought. His essay upon the Papacy and International Law has a certain timeliness. His negative conclusions may be set aside since the proposed arrangement has become effective and the papacy is once more a state. His treatment of the Monroe Doctrine addressed to British readers follows the traditional lines and hardly pretends to add anything to one's information on the subject. Nevertheless, it furnishes a sympathetic British interpretation of it. The essay upon Grotius is slender, that on the Locarno Treaties is occasional. The specialist in international law will derive most benefit from the essay on enemy ships in port at the outbreak of war and on the arming of merchant vessels. The general reader will be repaid by a perusal of them all.

J. S. REEVES.

Lenin. By Valeriu Marcu, translated by E. W. Dickes. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. 412, \$5.00.) While Lenin is being transformed into a legend at home he remains a mystery abroad. A good-sized library could be filled with all that has been written about him since he first shot into world prominence, but much of this material is of greater interest to the student of post-war psychology than to the historian of the Russian revolution. Yet the basic data on which a life of Lenin must be constructed is increasingly available—it is now possible to separate the truth from the legend. Lenin's death in 1924 occasioned a flood of reminiscences by many of his colleagues and opponents; the complete works are now available, the letters are being published, and the Soviet government is piously gathering together every scrap of memorabilia it can find.

Marcu's book is an indication that it is now possible to write a life of Lenin without being an uncritical apologist or an equally uncritical accuser. Intended for the general reader and dispensing with references and bibliography it appears to be based on extensive reading of the published material and shows a clear understanding of Lenin's beliefs as well as of the complicated disputes of the revolutionary groups. The style is vivid, if somewhat mannered and overburdened with metaphor, and the profuse quotations from Lenin's writings and speeches are judiciously chosen.

The man who emerges from these pages is a man whose life was a strange and startling unity. Lenin, the student, the lecturer before workingmen's clubs, the disciple of Plekhanov, the conspirator, the exile, the doctrinaire, the editor, the party leader, the head of the Soviet government—these are all one. The background of Tsarist tyranny and domestic discontent and revolutionary intrigue which Marcu has sketched in with great brush strokes shifts and changes—but never the central figure. He lived by and for "the Idea"—the inevitability of revolution and the certainty of seizing power. Where he differed from many of his fellow revolutionaries was in his absolute conviction regarding this point. They wavered; he didn't. And when the revolution came he thought it would take a few months before Socialism could be firmly established. When he discovered he was wrong he went right ahead anyway. A doctrinaire of purest water, intolerant of both criticism and the division of power, he had the great saving sense of reality. He knew when to change his mind. The founder of a new state, indeed of a new cult, his personality will be the subject of critical examination for many years. Marcu's book represents a notable beginning.

BARNET NOVER.

Europe: a History of Ten Years. By Raymond Leslie Buell. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. xiv, 428, \$2.50.) The historical gap which lies between the standard text-books and the morning's newspaper is the hardest of all to fill. Many students would discuss the text

of the League of Nations Covenant as Woodrow Wilson knew it, who could not tell exactly how many members of the Council there are today; many could name the prime ministers of the chief countries of Europe at the outbreak of the Great War who could not name their successors at the present time; many could give a much better account of Bolshevism under Lenin than of Bolshevism under Stalin. It is for such, for those whose professional needs or personal interest in world politics make it desirable for them to close this chasm between "modern history" and "current events" that Raymond Buell has written of the decade since the armistice.

Such a book should be written impartially and lucidly, and must, from the nature of the case, be written rather hastily. Everything that Mr. Buell has written is clear and candid. He is too fine a scholar to stoop to propaganda or that disproportionate stress of minor issues which is worse than open propaganda. He is too good a publicist not to keep in mind his audience and make every endeavor to explain things "so that the stupidest member of the class can understand it", as the books of pedagogy always say. The arrangement of the book is excellent; the chapters follow a logical line of development beginning with the Great War and the peace treaties and passing on to the controversies over enforcement of these treaties, the attempts at compromise such as the Dawes plan and the Locarno pact, the internal condition of the Great Powers and the minor states with some special attention to the social experiments of Fascist Italy and Bolshevik Russia. The point of view throughout is that of a good liberal, an internationalist and lover of peace, with charity towards all nations and malice towards none.

Unfortunately haste of execution is evident as well as clarity of style and fairness of judgment. It was well done to point out that Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles "merely holds Germany responsible for causing the *damage* to the Allies as a *consequence* of the war caused by German aggression. It does not impose sole responsibility upon Germany for causing the war" (p. 396). But, if that interpretation be sound, as it seems to be, why say that this was one of the provisions of the treaty "which attempted to pass a moral judgment upon the German people" (p. 35)? If Clemenceau were altogether "intransigent in his stubbornness" (p. 25), why did the French people turn against him for compromising away so many of the claims of France (pp. 37-38)? Is there really any statistical doubt of Polish numerical preponderance in the part of Upper Silesia that went to Poland by plebiscite (p. 193)?

The chapter bibliographies are highly valuable for the very latest books on each subject. Perhaps, however, it was a mistake to confine these references so largely to books published within the past two or three years. One misses such books as C. F. G. Masterman, *England after War*, from the bibliography on Britain (p. 156), and R. H. Lutz, *The German Revolution*, from the bibliography on Germany (p. 176). There are a number of typographical errors in these reading lists.

Slosson, *Modern Europe* (p. 17) should be *Twentieth Century Europe*, and Graham, W. W. (p. 213) should be Graham, M. W. The second edition of this book, with some of its evidences of hasty workmanship eliminated, should be much better than the first.

PRESTON SLOSSON.

Diplomatic Europe since the Treaty of Versailles. By Count Carlo Sforza. [Institute of Politics Publications.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1928, pp. x, 130, \$2.50.) This book consists of six lectures delivered by Count Sforza before the Williamstown Institute of Politics. They retain the freshness characteristic of semiformal delivery and, in view of the position formerly held by the author and the important events with which he was intimately connected, they possess the historical value of memoirs. Furthermore, an objectively-minded Italian was in a better position for philosophic analysis of the post-war decade than a representative of France, Germany, or Great Britain; and although he lacked the perspective which might be granted to the distant American, he knew a great deal more about the critical problems. Hence the importance of the book is far greater than might be indicated by its scant 97 pages of text.

Count Sforza's review is in topical rather than narrative form. He discusses in succession the relations of France and Germany, the international position of Poland, the successor states, the relations of Turkey with the Allies, the tendency of the small Baltic states towards union, the attitude of the Roman church toward nationalism and Geneva. He speaks with great frankness, and in occasional flashes throws new light on important problems. This is true of the interallied supervision of Silesia under General LeRond, of Italian negotiations with the Czechs and Yugoslavs, and particularly so of the situation at Constantinople, where Count Sforza was one of the Allied commissioners after the armistice. The factors in this latter problem he discusses in some detail as a result of his first-hand knowledge; on the larger issues he speaks with an authority befitting his position as ambassador to France and Minister for Foreign Affairs. Count Sforza is a liberal nationalist. He deplores naturally the economic confusion resulting from the break-up of Austria-Hungary and recognizes a good deal of political inconvenience in the creation of new small states in that region and along the Baltic. But he is insistent upon the ultimate benefit to be derived from the disappearance of what he calls "unsound and artificial constructions", and the development of "living entities . . . the real permanent material out of which a newly organized Europe will some day emerge". That organization will be based, he believes, upon the mutual concessions of national forces: "A division of Europe on the basis of nationalities is but the first step toward an associated Europe." He is under no illusion as to the difficulties involved, the mental divergency between France and Germany; the dangers resultant upon the miracle of Poland's resurrection (nevertheless, he says, "one

of the brightest moral lights in the Versailles Treaty"); the new resentments added to old hatreds in Southeastern Europe; the misunderstanding of the Mussulman by the West. He finds comfort in the growing realization of Europe that these are not simple problems of force, in the condemnation of chauvinism by the Roman church, and in the attitude of the smaller nations, which stand, he believes, among the truest sureties for peace. As the final development he sees "the end of a Europe thinking of being able to live outside some more or less loose federal bond".

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

A History of the Far East in Modern Times. By Harold M. Vinacke, Ph.D., Professor of International Law and Politics, University of Cincinnati. (New York, A. A. Knopf, 1928, pp. xxii, 479, \$7.50.) Professor Vinacke has here written one of our two best accounts in English of the recent history of the Far East. In three brief chapters he describes China and its culture before the coming of the Westerner, the impact of the Occident upon China, and the attendant changes down to 1894. In two more brief chapters he deals similarly with Japan. Then, in the next two chapters, he brings the story down through 1900. The major portion of his volume, therefore, has to do with events of the present century. As is natural for one trained in political science, Professor Vinacke devotes most of his attention to political and diplomatic developments. He does, however, also present excellent summaries of economic, intellectual, religious, and social movements in both Japan and China—changes which in the long run may well prove to be much more significant than even those in the realm of government and international relations. While his preface is dated June, 1928, his narrative goes no further than the spring of 1927. As is inevitable with a book attempting to relate events of the most recent times and to describe the ever-changing "current situation", a few of the later pages already need rewriting. Moreover, the prospective buyer should be warned that while from its title the volume professes to cover the Far East, in practice it interprets this rather indeterminate designation as not including the Philippines, French Indo-China, Siam, the Malay Peninsula, or the Dutch East Indies, but limits it to Japan, China, and Eastern Siberia.

Throughout the book the author has maintained an admirable detachment and lack of bias—an attitude by no means easy of achievement on many questions where nationalistic feeling has run high. Because of its comparative brevity and its extensive scope, the volume does not go at length into individual problems and questions, nor does it append many foot-note references to authorities. It is distinctly designed as a hand-book and text-book. It is, however, based upon excellent monographs and secondary accounts, and upon an examination of at least some of the more important documents. Excellent brief critical bibliographies conclude each chapter. Occasionally—but only occasionally—one misses the title of a good recent book, such as Hail, *Ts'eng Kuo-fan and the Taiping*

Rebellion, our best account of that movement, and Steiger, *China and the Occident*. This is, however, not a particularly important defect. It is to be hoped that the book will have a wide use.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

The Formation of the Chinese People: an Anthropological Inquiry. By Chi Li, Ph.D., Lecturer in Anthropology in the Tsing Hua Research Institute. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. 283, \$5.00.) Dr. Li's work is the most competent contribution hitherto made to the physical anthropology of the Chinese and is distinguished for the originality of approach to a difficult problem. It is equally notable as the first production of a Chinese scholar who received his training in the department of anthropology of Harvard University, under Professors Dixon and Hooton. The book does not interest the anthropologist exclusively, but will appeal (and to a higher degree) to the historian; for the author's investigation is a remarkable contribution to the history of race-mixtures on the soil of China. He destroys the old prejudice that the Chinese have been unchanging for several thousands of years and that the modern Chinese represent a physical homogeneity.

On the contrary, the physical formation of the Chinese is a most complex problem. The term "China" indicates merely a political unit, while the most diverse races and entirely distinct ethnical and cultural groups have been welded together into what we are pleased to call simply the "Chinese". The author introduces, after W. G. Sumner, a new terminology by speaking of the Chinese proper as the "We-group" and of the non-Chinese or barbarians as the "You-group"—to denote the psychological phenomenon involved in the perception of "meum" and "tuum". Personally, I see no advantage in the use of these affected terms; the same idea can be expressed by "Chinese" and "non-Chinese" just as efficiently. Dr. Li first describes the physical traits of the living Chinese based on the data of his predecessors and his own observations and measurements of Chinese students in the eastern universities of the United States and Chinese laborers from Kwang-tung province in Boston. The results are lucidly presented in sixteen tables and four maps. The author's most interesting investigation is contained in chapter IV., in which he endeavors to trace the origin and movements of ten clans, based on their family names. Of the history of Chinese families we know but little, and this contribution to family history will be gratefully appreciated. It should be extended, of course, to several hundred families. One of the interesting results is that many Chinese clans of northern China intermarried from early times with people of Turkish, Tungus, and Mongol descent. The centres and migrations of the ten selected families are charted on 59 skeleton maps on which the provinces are outlined but unfortunately not named. Another peculiar practice is to quote historical periods by letters, while nowhere a table identifying periods A, B, C, etc., is given.

In chapter VI., in which the aboriginal or so-called barbarian tribes of southern China are passed under review, the author is less fortunate and commits many errors, as he is not very familiar with this field. I regret that he did not utilize my article "Totemic Traces among the Indo-Chinese" (*Jour. Am. Folklore*, XXX. 415-426), where a better translation and interpretation of the P'an-hu myth is given than his on page 243.

The author's supposition that there are Negritoes in south China is most improbable, and is not warranted by the evidence produced by him (p. 259). Hala-wusu (read Khara-usu) is not Tibetan, as stated, but Mongol; in Mongol (Khara-usu) means "black water", while the corresponding Tibetan term is Nag ch'u. This name of a river has nothing to do, as alleged, with a dark-skinned population. The influence of tribes of the Mon-Khmer group on Chinese, if any, is negligible; nor is there any evidence for the bold assertion that the ancient Yüeh in southeastern China were Shan-speaking people or bear any relation to Shan by which he obviously means the Tai group.

B. LAUFER.

The Soul of China. By Richard Wilhelm, translated by John Holroyd Reese and Arthur Waley. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1928, pp. 382, \$3.75.) Keen insight, warm sympathy, and charm of style raise this attempt to interpret China, the baffling, above most of its contemporary studies. The author, a German missionary and teacher who went out to the infant Kiaochow colony soon after its acquisition, spent twenty-five years in China, in Shantung province, and in Peking. His book contains a survey of political developments in the first quarter of the century, with descriptive sketches of persons and places and observations on religion and philosophy. The comments of this missionary who christened no converts, this representative of European culture who learned to esteem the culture of the East, this lover of the past who saw the old China crumble about his head, are full of interest and suggestion. In preparing the English text no attempt seems to have been made to adopt the usual English equivalents for Chinese place and proper names, while at least three different spellings of Szechwan province may be observed.

The Luna Papers: Documents relating to the Expedition of Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano for the Conquest of La Florida in 1559-1561. Translated and edited with an historical introduction by Herbert Ingram Priestley, Ph.D., Professor in the University of California. [Publications of the Florida State Historical Society, no. 8.] Volume II. (De Land, Fla., the Society, 1928, pp. xv, 383.) This second volume, added to that which was reviewed in the preceding volume of this journal (XXXIII. 920), completes the record of Don Tristán de Luna's unfortunate Floridian expedition of 1559-1561. The texts are presented with great care,

the translations are excellent, the index is adequate, and two facsimiles are given. The documents are interesting, and more than ample for telling the story, for, as is usual in such Spanish records, there is much repetition and superfluous verbiage. Especially is this true of the main *expediente* which, continued from volume I., occupies more than half of the present volume, recording interminable discussions between the shattered governor and his mutinous or reluctant officers and soldiers. The order in which the other documents are presented, rather casual than chronological, is open to the same criticism that was expressed in the review of the first volume. The clearest notion of what actually happened in the expedition as a whole is to be got from the next to the last piece, one of Woodbury Lowery's finds, embracing the straightforward narratives deposited by four common soldiers. But of course the documents emanating from the "men higher up"—the viceroy Velasco, Don Tristán himself, and his *maestre de campo*, Jorge Cerón—are necessary to complete and explain the story.

Obregón's History of Sixteenth Century Explorations in Western America, Entitled Chronicle, Commentary, or Relation of the Ancient and Modern Discoveries in New Spain and New Mexico. Mexico, 1584. Translated, edited, and annotated by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey. (Los Angeles, Wetzel Publishing Company, 1928, pp. xxxvi, 351, \$10.00.) The authors of the present work have made an important addition to our growing collection of translated sources bearing upon the history of the Spanish Southwest and northern Mexico. Obregón's *Chronicle* is concerned with the early development of Nueva Vizcaya and New Mexico and the author participated in many of the events which he describes. Hammond and Rey have rendered a service both to historians and ethnologists, a service which will be especially appreciated because the original of the work was not published until recently and even then in an imperfect edition.

The volume now presented is attractive and interesting. It contains a good map of the region treated and an excellent index. It is not free, however, from minor defects. There are a few misprints and entirely too many untranslated Spanish phrases. Moreover, in some instances, the authors have not been happy in the choice of English words for their Spanish equivalents. On page 205, for instance, *genuine* would have been a better choice than "truthful" for the Spanish word "*verdaderas*".

In view of these considerations and the non-existence of a perfect Spanish edition of Obregón's work, it seems unfortunate that no way has been found to give to scholars interested in this field the Spanish text along with the English. Until a good edition of the original is forthcoming we must turn to the volume now under review for the standard contemporary account of the region concerned. Fortunately, it will be found adequate for most purposes and particularly as parallel reading for students who have not mastered the language of Obregón.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Congressional Investigations: a Study of the Origin and Development of the Power of Congress to Investigate and Punish for Contempt. By Ernest J. Eberling, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, no. 307.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1928, pp. 452, \$6.75.) The investigational function of Congress, which seems at times, especially in campaign years, to overshadow that of law making, is analyzed by Dr. Eberling in six solid chapters. He treats the historical background of the inquisitorial power, showing that in England it grew up under the *lex et consuetudo parliamenti*, a part of the common law, and that as such it was inherited by the colonial legislatures. He then discusses the development of the power through the accumulation of precedent, the evolution of present statutory provisions governing the practice, and the pronouncements of courts on legal questions involved. There are three main ingredients, as the author shows, in the function of investigation: compelling the attendance and testimony of witnesses; requiring the production of papers, and punishing for contempt. Though not expressly sanctioned by the Constitution, the power of investigation seems to be implied as ancillary to legislation and as indispensable in enforcing parliamentary privilege. Nevertheless there are grave constitutional issues involved in its exercise, especially the infringement of civil rights as guaranteed in the fifth and sixth amendments. Some of these constitutional questions are still mooted.

In practice Congress has made the widest use of its investigational power, extending it over the whole field of legislation. Schouler is quoted (p. 98) to show that even in Monroe's day "committees . . . snuffed about dark corners, [and] peeped . . . under beds . . . with a mousing alacrity", less eager to correct abuses than to collect damaging campaign material. Though in former days the House constituted itself the Grand Inquisitor of the nation, the Senate, with its freer rules and weaker party lash, has long since outrun the House in the exercise of this function. Under federal statutes, contempt of Senate and House has become a misdemeanor, and contumacious witnesses may be indicted and tried in the courts; yet each house still retains the power of direct punishment by order of the sergeant-at-arms committing the offender to jail. It is conceded that the power of investigation is subject to abuse, and various checks have been placed upon it. The production of executive papers may not be compelled; and testimony may not be forced from a witness whose impeachment is sought. In addition, the courts offer an effective check; for while confirming the legislative authority to investigate and to punish for contempt, they have set bounds to this power by holding it subject to judicial review and applying judicial remedies—*e. g.*, damages against the sergeant-at-arms for false imprisonment.

The book is based on careful study and makes a real contribution by way of tracing the evolution of a familiar governmental function and explaining its present status. It is attractively published and fortunately is not buried in a series. One must look closely to find that it is "number 307" of the Columbia Studies.

J. G. RANDALL.

The American Party Battle. By Charles A. Beard. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. viii, 150, \$1.50.) Professor Beard has here given us a popular review of party history, prefaced by a chapter on the nature of party and concluded by a brief prediction of future trends. The material is drawn largely from his *American Government and Politics* and stresses his well-known view of the economic basis of political development. It is a work which achieves distinction within its chosen compass; the perils of oversimplification have, however, not been entirely avoided. The novice may, for example, find difficulty in reconciling the concept that agriculture has been the essential basis of the Jefferson-Jackson-Bryan-Wilson tradition with the assertion that the Democratic party has become the organ of the "mobs of the great cities". Men have not joined political parties because of political theories (p. 139), yet "in politics it is beliefs" rather than actual interests "that count" (p. 137). We wonder, too, if Professor Beard would now wish to modify his statement that "religious ties are not often strong enough to bind opposing economic interests into the same political party".

The style is brisk and lively, admirably adapted to the requirements of the general reader. A list of texts on political parties is appended, but there is no index.

CARROLL H. WOODY.

College Life in the Old South. By E. Merton Coulter, Professor of History, University of Georgia. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. xii, 381, \$3.00.) In his effort to describe the Southern college community and appraise its influence Professor Coulter has chosen the method of isolating a "typical" institution for minute investigation rather than spreading his attention over many colleges. He gains greatly in vividness and interest and avoids an unwieldiness which might be inherent in the other alternative. He loses somewhat, and inescapably, because few institutions, no matter how typical, can in themselves alone reveal the whole story. Nevertheless the author accomplishes what he sets out to do. We have here an accurate portraiture done in living colors. Considerable sympathy with human nature and a sense of humor add perceptibly to the interest of the narrative.

The institution chosen is the University of Georgia, or, as it was more commonly called in ante-bellum days, Franklin College. The college records are unusually full and intimate. In this case they have been skilfully used by a scholar whose knowledge of Southern history and life enables him to draw with a true perspective.

Of chief interest to the reader looking for the "typical" rather than local college history will be the chapters which treat of the regulation of student life, the student self-education in debating societies, religion in education, the relation of the university and the state, and the description of what a college town thought and did. The book concludes with chapters on the Civil War and the passing of the Old South and the coming of

the New. It can not be claimed that the author has found data that will greatly alter established conclusions in regard to higher education in the South. But he has given one of the best accounts that we have of conditions in an American college of the first half of the nineteenth century.

The author might have faced certain critical problems more boldly. Was Francis Lieber right, for example, when from the faculty of South Carolina College he complained that he felt far removed from active, progressive, and intellectual life? Or was Gildersleeve, in characterizing his Virginia experience as a long sleep, describing a situation which is sometimes, fairly or unfairly, charged against the ante-bellum Southern college? What, in brief, was the Southern college's rôle in the growing isolation of the slave states from world thought?

Then there is the problem of the South's failure to maintain an equality with the North in intellectual development. Jefferson early complained that in regenerating the public education of Virginia he felt like a "physician pouring medicine down the throat of a patient insensible of needing it". The South had a propertied class well situated to patronize art, letters, and higher learning. Why then the failure? Inasmuch as the University of Georgia suffered greatly from lack of appreciation and support Professor Coulter is brought face to face with this highly significant problem. It is impossible to summarize his answer (pp. 241-246) in this brief notice, but he proffers an explanation which merits weighty consideration.

College Life in the Old South is a book which should be accepted by the alumni of Georgia with pride and read with appreciation by all who are interested in Southern social history.

PAUL H. BUCK.

The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858. Edited by Otis G. Hammond. [New Hampshire Historical Society Collections, vol. XII.] (Concord, the Society, 1928, pp. 442.) One of the units assigned to the Mormon expedition organized by the Buchanan administration was the Tenth Infantry. Among its officers was Captain Jesse A. Gove, who in the course of the enterprise wrote his wife a long series of letters dating from June 22, 1857, to August 26, 1858, which, when printed, fill 188 pages. These letters became the property of the New Hampshire Historical Society and are now published by that organization.

Throughout the three stages of the expedition, the thousand mile march, the winter quarters at Fort Bridger, and the final advance to Salt Lake City, Captain Gove wrote almost daily and very voluminously; in fact these letters were in the nature of recreation after the activities of the day. He described in minute detail the country through which they were marching, the character of the officers, his mode of life, his horses, his servants, his food, and above all his camp bed with clean sheets, and his tent stove, which made it possible for him to maintain a considerable degree of comfort. The captain did not fail to impress upon his wife in

a wholly unconscious manner how highly he was regarded by his superiors and recounted their marks of confidence. The letters are very "human" and very enlightening although we may suspect that his accounts of the comforts of the winter quarters were somewhat exaggerated to allay Mrs. Gove's fears. Enough is included to indicate that the diet became rather limited for this epicurean who was fond of extensive menus and good cooking, both of which he had enjoyed on the march.

As to the reasons for the expedition and the nature of the negotiations with the Mormons there are only scattering references, but this missing detail has been supplied to some extent by the 192 pages of Utah despatches reprinted from the New York *Herald*, most of them written by the *Herald's* Washington correspondent, Simonton, who went out in the spring of 1858 with the commissioners sent to negotiate. Of these despatches Gove wrote at least four and perhaps one or two more.

The editor, Otis G. Hammond, director of the society, has presented an unusual source collection which is all the more valuable because few students of Utah history would have thought of going to New Hampshire for sources. Too often state historical societies confine themselves to printing material dealing solely with their own localities. Director Hammond and the New Hampshire Society are to be congratulated upon breaking down the bars of provincialism.

ROY F. NICHOLS.

In Cabins and Sod-Houses. By Thomas Huston Macbride, President Emeritus of the State University of Iowa. (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1928, pp. xvi, 368, \$3.00.) This book is a record of what some Iowa farmers, in the fifteen years preceding the Civil War, "thought of themselves, their own doings, and their relations to the world". The book is not a systematic treatment of the intellectual history of the founders of Iowa. It is written in a pseudo-poetical style, and the names of the characters in the informal, reminiscent sketches are fictionalized. None the less it is valuable in that it represents the characteristic idealization of the frontier by one who was himself a pioneer. The long prairie experience of the author enabled him to draw upon a rich store of memories. We are told that care was taken to check these memories with available records. The book would have profited by a preface describing in greater detail the materials, written and unwritten, upon which it is based. One wonders, for example, whether the interesting accounts of the lyceum debates are reconstructed from memory, or whether, as in the case of a remarkable frontier sermon, manuscript notes served as the basis for a literary reconstruction.

In these sketches the characters are tolerant, shrewd, beauty-loving, and happy. They strove to see the truth and to do the right. Intense individualists, there were among them social idealists who visioned a state educational system for the development of civic responsibility and efficiency. Always there was the appeal of the undiscovered, and "an ex-

temporized, voluntary action" to achieve it. The log school-house, built by the joint efforts of the whole community in a single day, and the porch of the general store, were centres of a lively intellectual barter. Here the prairie farmers eagerly learned lessons in geology from a coal-pro prospector; here they discussed comets, pondered on phrenology, spirit-rapping, politics, and religion, and debated formally in the lyceum such problems as the relative values of art and nature and the wisdom of political compromise. Their faith in spiritual, aesthetic, and intellectual values was no less than their faith in the future of Iowa.

The book has few shadows. Only the dark clouds of the Kansas trouble and of threatening war mar the almost idyllic picture. Nothing is said of the tyranny of frontier conventions. The note of conflict is almost never struck. Possibly one prairie neighborhood, under the influence of so remarkable a personality as the chief one in the book, may have been as lyrically fond of natural beauty, as good-humored, and as spiritual-minded as this one. But in some Iowa communities during this period, to judge by other accounts, there was quarreling, bitterness, and sordidness. The author makes too wide a claim when he presents his book as a portrait of the intellectual life of the founders of a state. The story tells indirectly, though the writer seems scarcely aware of it, of the cultural retardations imposed by a frontier environment. Yet the book is another evidence that the frontier did condition high purposes, dreams, and visions, and that, contrary to the indictment of certain literary critics, it can not be regarded simply as the progenitor of a Main Street civilization.

Like other publications of the Iowa State Historical Society this book is excellently printed.

MERLE CURTI.

The Lance of Justice: a Semi-Centennial History of the Legal Aid Society, 1876-1926. By John MacArthur Maguire. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. xiv, 305, \$3.00.) This book is an excellent model for the history of a charitable organization. A mass of jumbled material in the society records and contemporary newspapers has been transformed into groups of telling concrete cases illustrating significant topics. The chapters conform to successive steps in the development of the Legal Aid Society of New York City from its origin for the relief of German immigrants. Largely because of one man, Arthur von Briesen, it achieved such success that many similar societies followed throughout the country.

In showing that systematic law offices for the poor, of which the New York society was the pioneer, constitute the best method for giving them their legal rights, Professor Maguire incidentally discusses their situation under Anglo-American law in other times and places. He supplements the earlier and more general book of Reginald H. Smith, *Justice and the Poor* (New York, 1919), by describing events since its publication—the

formation of a National Legal Aid Association (1923), the English official report on legal remedies for the poor (1928), and the international meeting of legal aid experts (1924) under the auspices of the League of Nations, whose secretariat is preparing a survey of the subject.

To the social historian of the United States Professor Maguire's book has a great value which might not be suspected from its title. His full account of the work of the Legal Aid Society discloses many facts about the poorer classes in New York City, portraying a vivid and detailed cross-section of American urban life. The book continually deals with the condition and customs of immigrants and the changing population of various regions of the city. It shows the astonishing variety of frauds perpetrated by swindlers—lotteries, love powders, phonographs, trade schools which taught nothing, dentists doing bad work, bucket-shops, jim-crack watches sold on the instalment plan, loan sharks, employment agencies which took fees for jobs which they could not supply. Nor is this survey of evils wholly discouraging. The Legal Aid Society, being much more familiar than the ordinary law office with the shortcomings of existing legal remedies, could accomplish much in securing legislation and administrative improvement. Professor Maguire thus throws much light on the history and problems of law reform in this country.

The chapter on the Seamen's Branch, describing the innumerable impositions practised upon sailors and the gradual advance in their legal position since 1900, is a significant contribution to the history of shipping. The war chapter reveals serious indirect results of the conflict, such as the plight of German seamen and domestic servants in English employ, cheating and extortion in connection with draft exemptions, the loss of seamen's property in ships sunk by submarines, difficulties in the administration of property arising from the absence or death of soldiers, and mental incompetency among ex-service men.

The book has a very full index. A brief bibliography of books on legal aid would be a convenient addition.

Z. CHAFEE, JR.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives since 1896. By Chang-Wei Chiu, Ph.D. [Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 297.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1928, pp. 347, \$5.25.) When a young man from a remote foreign land, trained to speak a language wholly different from ours, brought up among other customs of life, habits of thought, and institutions of government, undertakes a technical study of one of our political devices, we are prepared to pass judgment on the product with some condescension and, if it is tolerable, to say it is "not bad". Approaching in that inevitable spirit Mr. Chiu's book on *The Speaker of the House of Representatives since 1896*, the reader has a surprise in store. His condescension will change to humility as he realizes the chances are a thousand to one that if he were to go to China under like conditions and attempt a like task, he would not

come anywhere near a like degree of success. Indeed, were the name not on the cover and title-page, he would conclude this to be the work of a painstaking, thorough, judicious scholar of our own, who had grasped the spirit of the institution with remarkable accuracy. In brief, Mr. Chiu has made an admirable contribution to our literature of political science.

The Speakership is the most significant institution in the legislative branch of American federal government. In the story of its development is reflected the course of change in embodying the popular will in law, and also the change in our political habits of thought and practice. We are so close to the years here in question that we do not yet realize what has taken place. Later it will be recognized that in the first quarter of the twentieth century partizanship ceased to be the dominant feature of legislative life in Washington. This does not mean that partizanship has disappeared, or has become unimportant. It may return to dominance as it did just a hundred years ago, but for the moment it remains in Congress only for mechanical purposes. As a result the Speaker to-day more nearly approaches the impersonality of the presiding officer in the House of Commons than at any time for a century.

It is a very complicated piece of machinery that he handles. The procedure of the House of Representatives is *sui generis*. Few of the members ever master its intricacies. Not one of them would fail to find in Mr. Chiu's book something that had not come to his attention. For an outsider to have discovered all the matters worth noticing, is remarkable. Admiration grows in observing the accuracy, the proportion, the intelligence with which the details are described.

ROBERT LUCE.

The Grain Trade during the World War. By Frank M. Surface, Economist for the United States Grain Corporation. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. xxviii, 679, \$6.00.) During the World War there was a wide expansion of national powers in the United States and many new administrative units of government were established to meet wartime emergencies. All too frequently these administrative units were scrapped without any provision for an adequate historical record of their activities, with the consequence that invaluable documents are in danger of being buried in inaccessible archives, if indeed they have not already been lost completely. Fortunately this has not always been the case and Dr. Surface's book is one of the pleasing exceptions.

In this substantial volume Dr. Surface has traced the history and accomplishments of the Food Administration Grain Corporation and its successor, the United States Grain Corporation. After a brief survey of the world food situation at the time of the entrance of the United States into the war, Dr. Surface discusses in greater detail the steps taken by the Food Administration to stabilize cereal food prices and to render the greatest possible assistance to our associates in the war. This is followed by an account of the handling of each important problem as it arose and

of the European relief work after the armistice. The concluding chapters relate to special phases of the activities of the Grain Corporation, giving detailed information on finances and the period of liquidation. Nearly five hundred pages are devoted to the text proper and the remainder—about one hundred and eighty pages—to appendixes, containing documentary material. It might be stated at this point that the entire text is interspersed with letters, documents, statistics, and graphs. To the possible criticism that the narrative is interrupted too much by the amount of this material the reply can be made that the letters and documents thus printed are perhaps in this manner only made available to historians and economists. It is really as a documentary source-book that this volume will have its ultimate value.

It is very doubtful if any one but Dr. Surface could have written the book. A trained statistician, he was connected throughout the entire period of its existence with the organization he describes; he had access to the correspondence and documents in its files; and he was able by personal conversation with the officers of the corporation to gather much material unavailable to others. The book is not easy reading but to the historian of the economic phases of the World War it is indispensable.

EVERETT S. BROWN.

Government Ownership and Operation of Railroads. By Walter M. W. Splawn, Professor of Economics in the University of Texas. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. xiv, 478, \$5.00.) Looking to the possibility that in a time of stress and strain upon American railroads, or in a political or economic disturbance not now foreseen but always possible, the general public may be misled by a few adroit politicians to repudiate the principle of private ownership of railroads and resort to government ownership, Professor Splawn has written a book with the hope that it may make it easier for men to form opinions based upon facts and to act in accordance with reason rather than from emotional excitement. While the author in nearly all cases is fair and objective in his recital of facts the volume is a thesis supporting the present American policy of private ownership of railroads and opposing the adoption of nationalization now common in many foreign countries, except Great Britain.

Following a brief introduction, Professor Splawn takes the reader into every quarter of the globe and gives him for each country a thumb-nail sketch of the early history and economic development of its railroads. He admits that the presentation is uneven and sometimes sketchy or patchy. In all, the rail transportation history and policies of 74 separate countries are condensed into 287 pages of the book—less than four pages to each country, including in most cases one or more statistical tables and a map. The statistics are meagre and of questionable value without greater explanation and qualification than the writer could give in one volume. The maps, too, are of little help because they are so small in

scale and so difficult to read. It is to be regretted that more space was not given to Germany, France, Australia, and Canada, and less effort made to have the summary complete by including all of the many small and unimportant countries which afford little assistance in their experience to guide one who is seeking the wisest policy for the United States.

The somewhat tedious recital about foreign countries is followed by a well-written and interesting chapter on the indications afforded by foreign experience. Then there is a long chapter on American experience in government ownership and operation of canals. Next comes a brief summary of the development of the railway systems of the United States and a chapter dealing with government operation of American railways during the World War period. In that chapter there is an inclination to charge the government with responsibility for economic forces which were incidental to war, and to minimize the praiseworthy accomplishments of unified operation during 1918 when the adequacy of rail transportation played such an important part in military operations. The results of federal control in 1918 and 1919 can not safely be used as arguments either for or against peace-time nationalization.

It is in the concluding chapters that Professor Splawn is at his best in summarizing and discussing the points in favor of government ownership and in making a case for the negative side of the question. In such matters as the possible effect upon expenses and service and the possibilities of political interference, the treatment is excellent.

WILLIAM J. CUNNINGHAM.

West Virginia in History, Life, Literature, and Industry. By Morris Purdy Shawkey, M.A., Ped.D., President of Marshall College. Five volumes. (Chicago, Lewis Publishing Company, 1928, pp. lviii, 418, 458, 376, 350, 379.) President Shawkey is well known in West Virginia because of his good work as a former state superintendent of education and as the present head of Marshall College. The compilation which now appears under his editorship, however, has slight merit. It must be placed in that catalogue of state histories which may satisfy the pride of an uncritical local constituency but fail utterly to measure up to the standards of serious scholarship.

Volumes one and two, written, with the exception of a single chapter, by the editor himself, contain a review of West Virginia history, a description of its agricultural and industrial life, a survey of its development and present facilities in education, an account of the state's participation in the World War, and a group of uncoordinated chapters on popular historical highlights and miscellaneous information of all sorts. Loose organization, repetition, and some inaccuracy are probably the results of the limited time the author states he was able to devote to the work (I. vii).

Inasmuch as the author confessedly made little effort to use source-material (I. v) one is not surprised to find no new contribution to West

Virginia history. The story is popularly and lightly told. Controversial topics are avoided. The author liberally introduces his own philosophical ruminations on history. The tone is eulogistic. Where good can be written, it is written. Where adverse criticism might be in order, there is silence.

When we come to the contemporary chapters there is improvement. The author is here describing events most of which he himself observed and in some of which he honorably participated. Especially what he says about education and his survey of schools and colleges in the state are informative. Here again, however, lack of a critical attitude and the eulogizing tone leave much to be desired. The chapters on the industrial transformation of the state, while correct in emphasis, are sketchy and do not get beneath the surface into explanation. The World War chapters reveal a state thoroughly organized and heartily participating in all forms of war-time activity.

Volumes three, four, and five are devoted to West Virginia biographies prepared by a "special staff of writers". More than ninety per cent. of these biographies and virtually every illustration in these volumes are of living people. The career of a twenty-two year old country storekeeper receives more space (with illustration) and is more glowingly described than that of the man (without illustration) who received the Democratic nomination for the presidency of the United States in 1924 after a meritorious career in law, politics, and diplomacy. This striking example is eloquent of the mode of preparation and explains perhaps why such compilations are commercially a success. There are about eleven hundred pages of biographies, averaging two to a page.

To the serious student the books are disappointing. West Virginia's place in the national scene is too firmly established to suffer by shabby eulogies written in her name. But some states have histories which do them honor and it is greatly to be regretted that the energy and money here expended might not have brought a work of lasting merit to the mountain state.

PAUL H. BUCK.

History of Alabama and Her People. By Albert Burton Moore, M.S., M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of History in the University of Alabama. Three volumes. (Chicago, American Historical Society, 1927, pp. liii, 995, 781, 776, \$30.00.) Only the first volume of the three included in this work merits the attention of a reviewer; the last two volumes, consisting of poorly prepared and badly written biographical sketches by "a special staff of writers", doubtless constitute the grave offense against historical accuracy characteristic of works of this type.

Professor Moore's volume is a narrative history of Alabama from the period of aboriginal occupancy. It touches on every phase of the state's life and as a popular work has undoubted value, but it can scarcely be regarded as an important contribution to history. In addition it is open

to very serious criticism in several respects. The study is wordy and badly proportioned. The author's prefatory admission that he lacked time for revising and condensing his manuscript is verified in every part of the book. Much space, for example, is devoted to extended and detailed descriptions of Indian life, backwoods life, plantation life, agriculture, and slavery, which contain nothing that is new and little that is peculiar to Alabama. Too much space throughout the book is given to unimportant matters, while there is a striking paucity of critical analysis of movements and of the workings of parties and leaders.

So far as is apparent the material is drawn chiefly from secondary sources. Each chapter contains a "select bibliography" of such material but there is no general bibliography indicating what original sources were employed, and the few foot-notes, when not explanatory, refer almost entirely to secondary works. Much of the discussion contained in the work seems superficial. This is particularly true in relation to the later period. Nowhere does one perceive that indefinable but none the less easily recognizable touch given alone by complete mastery of the subject, and as a consequence one finishes reading the book without any sense of familiarity with the history of Alabama. The apparent inadequacy of material has been noted; what is used is poorly digested. That portion of three years which the author spent upon the work was too small for the task.

Against these considerations it must be borne in mind that the book was prepared for popular consumption rather than for critical specialists. There is abundant evidence of that in its form, content, and treatment. It must be noted as well that the treatment, even of highly controversial matters, is admirably calm and detached, lacking any trace of prejudice, or even of bias. That may well serve to make the reader charitable with respect to some of its faults.

J. G. DER. H.

History of Kansas, State and People. By William E. Connelley, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. Five volumes. (Chicago, American Historical Society, 1928, pp. xlviii, 2592, \$37.50.) The most difficult phase of American history to get written and to get published is the history of the states. There are a few excellent state histories but most of them are of the old type, published by subscription, and consisting partly of history and partly of biographies of the subscribers. This is a work of the old type. Although there is no indication of the fact, it is a new edition of a work published in 1918 entitled *A Standard History of Kansas*. The former work was issued by the Lewis Publishing Company and the present one is issued by The American Historical Society. The American Historical Association has always regarded the name as an unwarranted attempt to exploit the prestige of the Association but it may appear legitimate to the publishers.

The history, consisting of the first two volumes, is "written and compiled" by Mr. William E. Connelley, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. A little more than the first half is written by Mr. Connelley himself and the remainder is contributed by other hands. In this edition there has been prefixed a new chapter on "Indian Occupancy of the Great Plains" and there have been added chapters on the governor's administrations from Capper to Paulen, and special articles on Kansas in the great war, agricultural history, and road legislation. Otherwise the plates appear to be unchanged.

Of the twelve hundred pages of the history, half are devoted to the period preceding the admission of Kansas as a state and half of the first half to the history of the region preceding the organization of Kansas as a territory. This gives too much space to the earlier period. The chapters on the Indians are doubtless valuable as the author is a specialist in this field. The chapter on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is inadequate in that it is limited to one of the three elements that contributed to the result. The story of the territorial period is told from the standpoint of Lane and John Brown. The career of Lane may be defended but for the operations of Brown, whatever his motives, there is no defense. The account of the period of statehood falls short of what is needed, as Mr. Connelley would probably be the first to admit, but it is the only one obtainable at present. The index is inadequate and important papers, like the one by Judge Huggins on the Industrial Court, are not listed in the table of contents.

The biographical section, consisting of the last three volumes, was prepared "by a Special Staff of Writers". It consists for the most part of notices of the subscribers or notices inserted at their instance. The larger part of them are new. The names carried over from the first edition are presumably those of subscribers to this edition also. There is a plentiful supply of portraits, inserted for a consideration. The notices are thrown together without any arrangement. Apparently the distribution of the portraits was the controlling consideration. In this matter the publishers have been unfair to their subscribers. The usefulness of the work would have been increased if the notices had been arranged alphabetically and a geographical index provided, or better yet had been arranged geographically and an alphabetical index provided. The two parts of the work should have separate indexes.

The whole work will be useful in newspaper offices in Kansas. The historical part is worth procuring elsewhere, if it can be bought separately, but buying five volumes to get two makes the two come rather high.

F. H. H.

Conquest: America's Painless Imperialism. By John Carter. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1928, pp. x, 348, \$2.50.) Addressed to the critics, both native and foreign, of American foreign policy and to those American officials who have not had an opportunity to vindicate

their programmes, this book "is designed to show that our economic expansion and industrial prosperity can be divorced from political expansion and economic imperialism, and that we may have developed institutions capable of promoting the peace of the world and the political demobilization of the nations". While admitting that he has indulged in a piece of speculative interpretation, the author claims that his opinions are based on information supplied by the works of other writers and by officials of the federal departments of State and Commerce.

The twenty-two chapters of the book have been arranged under three divisions, called respectively "The Basis of American World-Power", "The Struggle Between America and Europe", and "The Future of American Expansion". In the first division, or part I., the author attempts first to discuss such topics as the principles of imperialism and the character of empire, following which is a treatment of American expansion—"infantile imperialism"—including the policies followed and the doctrines evolved as a consequence. In the second division, the writer considers the danger which all the foreign policies of America faced in 1917 as a result of the World War, the offensive taken by the United States to save these policies, the counter-attack of Europe and her attempts at the political encirclement and the economic and moral isolation of the United States following the close of the struggle, the endeavors of Secretaries of State Hughes and Kellogg to meet the attack, and the successful fight of American business to capture the trade of the world. In the final division, the author plunges more deeply into the field of speculation and offers suggestions on the course American expansion might take in the future.

Although the general reader may find in the book points of interest, the student of history will discover little to merit his attention. The material usually classed as factual is worth little because where it is not available in more convenient form elsewhere the absence of citations to sources of information renders it useless. The selection of facts indicates a lack of insight and proportion, while their interpretation shows a disposition to prove a preconceived thesis, namely that the United States is almost always right and other nations usually wrong.

Despite a few errors—for example those on page 191, line 4, and page 219, line 26—the book is well edited.

LAWRENCE F. HILL.

A Bibliography of Alaskan Literature, 1724-1924. By James Wickersham. [Miscellaneous Publications of the Alaska Agricultural College and School of Mines.] (Cordova, Alaska, 1927, pp. xxviii, 635, distributed by School of Mines, College P.O. at \$5.55.) Those who have but casual information about the literature, history, or development of Alaska, on examining Judge Wickersham's well-made book, will encounter three surprises: first, the scope of the work embracing more than ten thousand titles; second, the variety of published literature on and from Alaska;

third, the scholarship and skill sufficient to produce and publish such a technical and valuable book within the Territory of Alaska.

The titles are numbered serially, reaching a total of 10,380. The general literature is arranged in groups from "Adventure" to "Zoology", the items being alphabetized by authors within each group. The United States public documents relating to Alaska begin with number 6832 and end with number 10,380. A voluminous index facilitates immediate reference to any item or author. The author presents (pp. 1-37) in what he calls "Outlines of the History of Alaskan Literature, 1724-1924", a compact sketch of Alaska's history from the influence of Peter the Great to the territory's aspirations for statehood.

The two-century span is more than justified as the author traces Russian influence prior to 1724 and there are some titles included bearing dates subsequent to 1924, as numbers 267 and 267a, publications by former Governor Scott C. Bone in 1925 and 1926.

In addition to titles citing works on history and economics, there are, of course, citations to poetry and dramatics. One whole group is devoted to Jack London. The drama of this bibliography itself, hinted in the preface, is well known to the author's many friends. When Judge James Wickersham became delegate to Congress from the Territory of Alaska in 1908, he sent to the superintendent of documents for certain published items to aid in his work as delegate. That natural request uncovered the existence of a vast number of documents. He says that very soon he and some of his assistants "became chronic book collectors and students of Alaskan history and problems". For twenty years he has continued and now possesses the most perfect collection of Alaskan literature known to exist. He also assembled, far beyond his own collection, titles of many other works. For two years he gave his time to compilation and then Alaska's legislature opened the way for publication.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

Grain Growers Co-operation in Western Canada. By Harald S. Patton, Ph.D. [Harvard Economic Studies, vol. XXXII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. x, 471, \$5.00.) Dr. Patton's scholarly book in a large measure fills the long-standing need for an adequate account of the dramatic struggle for coöperation on the part of the grain growers of Western Canada. It is not that the subject has been overlooked heretofore by historians, but that all previous accounts of this movement (at least those that have come to the reviewer's attention) have suffered either from inadequacy of scope, from bias of special pleading, or from unscientific treatment of the economic issues involved. None of these charges can be made against the present work. It is comprehensive, impartial, well constructed and clearly written, and thoroughly scientific in temper.

Particularly noteworthy is the historical treatment of the subject. Starting with a vivid picture of economic conditions in Western Canada

at the opening of the present century, the author shows how the co-operative movement came into being and how it has grown step by step from small beginnings until now it dominates the entire grain trade of Canada. It is an account that no student can afford to ignore because it shows so clearly the difficulties that beset coöperative undertakings, the mistakes made by the Canadian agriculturists, and the factors that have contributed to the success of this movement in Canada.

Of greatest present interest are the sections dealing with the pool system of grain marketing that has made its appearance in the prairie provinces since 1921. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the author's treatment of the economic results of this development is unsatisfactory. While he dwells at length upon the savings in marketing costs achieved by the pools, Dr. Patton has very little to say regarding the accomplishments and potentialities of the pool system in raising the price of Canadian wheat in the world markets. The author, in fact, dismisses the subject with the statement that, since the Canadian crop comprises only 12 per cent. of the total world wheat production, the wheat pools have very little chance to exercise any material influence upon world prices.

With this assumption the present reviewer must take issue. A study of wheat consumption in the importing nations of Europe shows that the demand for imported wheat is much more inelastic than that for the native wheat. Thus, a change in the volume of exports from the surplus producing nations has a much greater influence upon so-called world prices than an equal change in the size of the European crop. As a result of this situation, the most significant factor in influencing prices is the percentage of the total exportable under control, and not the percentage of total world production. Since Canada produces between 40 and 50 per cent. of the present world surplus, the pools by controlling most of the Canadian crop have a unique opportunity to influence world prices. Doubtless it would be extremely difficult to show such an influence by statistical evidence, but, nevertheless, it is necessary that the attempt be made. The actual and potential savings in marketing costs are so small, as Dr. Patton has clearly shown, that the future success of the pool system of marketing in Canada is likely to depend largely upon its ability to enhance the price received for Canadian wheat in world markets.

JOHN F. FENNELLY.

Our Cuban Colony: a Study in Sugar. By Leland Hamilton Jenks. [Studies in American Imperialism.] (New York, Vanguard Press, 1928, pp. xxii, 341, \$1.00.) This might have been a good book on a worthwhile subject, but it is spoiled by the half-truths, innuendo, and partizanship of the sort one finds so often among circles of the self-approving *intelligentsia*, whose motto seems to be: "Whatever is, is *wrong*, especially if it is American!"

The book is one of a series now being gotten out by the "American Fund for Public Service", whose object is the "prosecution of studies

into American expansion and investment outside the United States". Two other works in this series have appeared almost simultaneously, one on Bolivia, and the other on the Dominican Republic. The editor, Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, now makes his *début* in the Hispanic-American field, and says that the object of the series is to "make a careful study of the actual facts [*sic*], in order to find out just what contemporary imperialism really amounts to". One gathers the impression, however, that Professor Barnes is inclined to prejudge the "actual facts", implying a condemnation. The ostensible object of the series, of course, is "human enlightenment and social justice"!

Although in a sense this is a history of Cuba from the standpoint of American economic enterprise, the main emphasis comes on the Zayas period (1921-1925) and recent times. Throughout, the author takes occasion to express his disapproval of the American people, as witness the "uncouth nation" of '98, with the inferiority complex, "cloaking greed with idealism and imagination with vulgarity" (p. 50). Individual Americans are also bitterly criticized, notably leading Republicans. The Democrats suffer less. Not so, however, one prominent figure of the Wilson administration—a certain Herbert Hoover! The one definite recommendation of the book is for dropping the Platt Amendment (or Permanent Treaty). The author appears also to deplore the fact that Cuba has become an "American factory", though there is little of precise accusation against American business, despite an air as of some great wrong.

The best thing that can be said of this book is that it has made a wide use of materials. Unfortunately, however, it would seem that the author, or the association he represents, is not capable of an unbiassed presentation of facts. On the score of technique the book is full of errors. There is no bibliography, and little or no sense of form in style of entry in notes citing materials. The author's apparent unfamiliarity with Spanish reveals itself in frequent misspellings and in misplaced or missing accents, and much of incorrect English has survived the proof-reading. These are minor sins, however, in comparison with the book's invented atmosphere, its undue "smartness", and, above all, its evident bias.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

COMMUNICATION

February 26, 1929.

The Editor of the American Historical Review:

In a not unjustly severe review of Montague Summers's *History of Witchcraft and Demonology* and *The Geography of Witchcraft* Professor George L. Burr includes the following paragraph (*A. H. R.*, XXXIV. 324):

"But the most startling thing is not Mr. Summers or his book. It is that such a book could find a place in a great educational series on the history of civilization—a series announced as offering the ripest fruit of historical science—a series initiated by the rational *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, edited by a Cambridge scholar, and boasting as its 'consulting American editor' the champion of the 'new history'."

In fairness to Henri Berr, Mr. Knopf, and myself it should be stated that neither the editor of the basic French series, nor the American publisher, nor the "consulting American editor" bears any responsibility whatever for the inclusion of Summers's books in the series. The series is made up by the editor-in-chief, Mr. C. K. Ogden, who adds such books as he believes wise to the original French set. The only function of the "American editor" is to advise as to how many copies of each volume shall be purchased for the American edition and to obtain an occasional volume for the series from American scholars. The one volume for which he is responsible is W. Christie MacLeod's excellent *American Indian Frontier*, and we have awaiting publication two remarkable volumes by Professor A. C. Flick on the *Decline of the Medieval Church*. Others may be arranged for later.

Both Mr. Knopf and the "consulting American editor" were greatly shocked by the nature of the Summers volume and have protested vigorously to Mr. Ogden. Steps have been taken to prevent a repetition of this sort of thing as far as the American publication of the series is concerned.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) HARRY ELMER BARNES.

HISTORICAL NEWS

PERSONAL

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao died January 19 in Peking, at the age of 56. Early in life he was associated with the late K'ang Yu-wei in initiating the reforms that ended in the collapse of the Manchu régime in 1911. In 1898, at the age of 25, he wrote a memorial advocating revolutionary reforms in the examination system, thus paving the way for its final abolition in 1905. Barely escaping with his life the *coup d'état* of 1898, he lived in exile for some years, writing on political reform through the medium of periodicals which he edited. After the establishment of the Republic he devoted himself more exclusively to teaching, lecturing, and writing on historical subjects; his activities in the political field being confined to the founding of the *Chin Pu Tang*, and more recently the *Yen Chiu Hsi*—two parties which advocated more moderate views than those held by Sun Yat Sen and the *Kuo Min Tang*.

Mr. Liang was greatly influenced by two revolutionary works of his teacher, K'ang Yu-wei, "The Forged Classics of the Wang Mang Period" (*Hsin Hsüeh Wei Ching K'ao*), and "Confucius's Programme of Reform" (*K'ung-tzu Kai Chih K'ao*)—two works which may be said to have set in motion the whole Chinese historical criticism of our day. He was a stalwart defender of the *Chin Wen*, or "modern text" school which holds that not a few of the doubtful texts of antiquity were forged by Liu Hsin, for political reasons, in the first decade of the Christian era. The intensive study which both K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao had made of the so-called "Han school" of historical criticism (of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), together with what they had learned of the Western approach, made them the natural founders of the present-day intellectual renaissance, especially on its historical side.

The latest edition of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's "Collected Writings" (*Yin Ping Shih Wen Chi*) appeared in 1927 in 80 volumes. Some scholarly contributions were published separately; the three in which he took the greatest pride being: "Methods of Investigating Chinese History" (*Chung Kuo Li Shih Yen Chiu Fa*), "Critical Scholarship during the Ch'ing Dynasty" (*Ch'ing Tai Hsüeh Shu Kai Lun*), and "Chinese Political Thought prior to the Ch'in Dynasty" (*Hsien Ch'in Cheng Chih Ssu Hsiang Shih*), all published in 1911-1912; the last is translated into French. One of his most recent works, "Methods of Studying the Important Classical Books" (*Yao Chi Chieh T'i Chi Ch'ii Tu Fa*) affords the best summary of the present-day criticism of the great ancient books that has yet appeared. At the time of his death he was engaged on a vast "Cultural History of China" (*Chung Kuo Wen Hua Shih*) of which only parts have appeared in print.

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In a little autobiographical sketch entitled "On Reaching the Age of Thirty", Mr. Liang remarked, "Prior to my visit to Shanghai at the age of eighteen, when a world atlas for the first time fell into my hands, I did not know of the existence of the five continents". And yet this young man, by extraordinary mental resiliency and an inimitable literary style, captured the intellectual leadership of all China, and retained it till he died. This ability to change with the times, manifested in his literary style as well as in his ideas, may be attributed, perhaps, to the strict self-application of a motto which he often quoted to others: "Do not hesitate to let your self of to-day pronounce judgment on your self of yesterday."

We are late in recording the death of Charles Florus Coan, on September 19, 1928, at the age of 42. He was head of the department of history in the University of New Mexico. His most important work was *A History of New Mexico*, published in 1925.

Frank Alfred Golder, professor of history and a director of the Hoover War Library at Stanford University, died on January 7, at the age of 52. After his graduation from Harvard in 1903 he studied abroad. He taught later at the University of Missouri, Boston University, the University of Chicago, and at the State College of Washington. Since 1921 he has been professor in Stanford. In 1914-1915 he was engaged in an investigation in the Russian archives for the Carnegie Institution, and again in 1917. He was a member of the House Inquiry during 1917-1919; and in 1920-1923 a special investigator of the American Relief Administration in Central and Eastern Europe. In the field of Russian history and Russian-American relations he made contributions of permanent value, notably in *Russian Expansion in the Pacific, 1641-1850* (1914); *Guide to the Materials for American History in Russian Archives* (1917); *Bering's Voyages* (1922); and *Documents of Russian History, 1914-1917* (1927). His latest book was *The March of the Mormon Battalion*, published last October. Dr. Golder left an enduring monument in the great Russian collection in the Hoover War Library. The content of this collection testifies both to his scholarly interest and to his wide acquaintanceship among European scholars and public men who, like his American colleagues, valued him not only for his attainments as a scholar but for the rare quality of his friendship. His death will be mourned by his colleagues in this country and by hundreds of men, women, and children, uprooted and scattered by war and revolution, to whom he gave succor and the comfort of his sympathy.

Walter I. Lowe died on February 22 at the age of 62. He has been professor at Colgate University since 1920. Before that he had taught at Yale, at Wells College, and at the University of Beaume, France, during the war.

Louis J. Paetow died suddenly on December 22, at the age of 48. He had taught at the universities of Colorado, Wisconsin, Illinois, and, since 1911, California. He was a fellow and vice-president of the Mediaeval

Academy, and served on the board of editors of *Speculum*. He was an active member of the committee of the American Council of Learned Societies on the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin*. In 1910 he published the *Arts Course at Medieval Universities*, and since then his chief interest has been in the further study of this subject. The second of his *Two Medieval Satires on the University of Paris* (reviewed in this number), won for him the Edward Kennard Rand Prize in Mediaeval Studies last year. In 1917 he published his well-known *Guide to the Study of Medieval History* and of this he was preparing a new edition. His translation of the letters of Robert Grosseteste, to be published in the series *Records of Civilization*, was so nearly completed that it is hoped that both this and the *Guide* may soon be ready for publication. One of his great achievements was in training and arousing the enthusiasm of students who are carrying on his work in the study of the Medieval universities.

Eduard Fueter died on November 28, at the age of 53. He had been professor at Zurich since 1903. Among his works the best known are *Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie*, 1911 (second edition, 1925, French translation, 1914), *Geschichte der Europäischen Staatensystems von 1492-1559*, 1919, and *Weltgeschichte der Letzten Hundert Jahren*, 1921 (English translation, 1922).

Hermann Reincke-Bloch died on January 1, at the age of 61. He had been professor at Strassburg, Rostock, and Breslau, in addition to holding important public offices. In 1892 he published his *Forschungen zur Geschichte Heinrichs VI.*, which was followed by other works on the history of the Hohenstaufens. He also wrote on other periods, both Medieval and modern. He took an active part in organizing the International Committee of Historical Sciences and was chairman of the committee on the International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography.

Dietrich Schäfer died on January 12, at the age of 83. He had been professor at Jena, Breslau, Tübingen, Heidelberg, and Berlin. From 1872 on a long series of volumes attested his industry and learning. He was especially interested in the history of the Hanseatic League on which he wrote or edited more than a dozen volumes. In addition he wrote over fifty other works, several of which appeared in revised editions; of these possibly the best known are his *Weltgeschichte der Neuzeit*, 1907, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 1910, and his numerous publications in connection with the World War.

Professor Charles H. Haskins has been transferred to the newly endowed Henry Charles Lea Professorship of Mediaeval History at Harvard University.

Dr. W. I. Brandt of the University of Iowa is on leave of absence, assisting as associate editor, in the launching of the *Social Science Abstracts*.

Josiah C. Russell, of Colorado College, has been appointed head of the department of history in the New Mexico Normal University at Las Vegas.

The following appointments for summer schools are noted: *Columbia University*, Professor B. B. Kendrick of the North Carolina College for Women, Professor M. M. Knight of the University of California, Professors L. M. Larson and A. T. Olmstead of the University of Illinois, Professor Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell University, and Professor P. W. Slosson of the University of Michigan; *Duke University*, Professor J. G. Randall of the University of Illinois; *University of Tennessee*, Professor W. A. Moody of Iowa State College; *University of Iowa*, Professor J. C. Andressohn of Indiana University, Professor J. E. Pomfret of Princeton University, and Professor J. L. Sellers of the University of Wisconsin; *University of Nebraska*, Professor Louis Pelzer of the University of Iowa; *Stanford University*, Professor C. A. Duniway of Carleton College, and Professor A. C. Krey of the University of Minnesota; *University of Washington*, Professor W. R. Livingston of the University of Iowa.

GENERAL

At the Conference on the History of the Trans-Mississippi West, University of Colorado, June 18-21, the topics and leaders for the round tables will be the Problem of Adequate Historical Collections, S. J. Buck of the Minnesota Historical Society; the Industrial Revolution and the Great Plains, W. P. Webb of the University of Texas; the West in Foreign Relations, E. C. Barker of the University of Texas; Geographic Influences, Carl Sauer of the University of California; the Problem of an Adequate Agricultural Survey for a Western State, Joseph Schafer of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Finance and the Frontier, F. L. Paxson of the University of Wisconsin.

There will also be formal papers on Western Missions, Western Transportation, and the West in American Literature, presented by G. J. Garraghen, St. Louis University; C. B. Goodykoontz, University of Colorado; L. R. Hafen, Colorado State Historical Society; Lucy B. Hazard, Mills College; A. B. Hulbert, Colorado College; J. C. Parish, University of California at Los Angeles; Louis Pelzer, University of Iowa. H. E. Bolton, University of California, will read a paper on "Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands". F. J. Turner will preside at one of the meetings.

Professor Hutton Webster, in *Historical Selections*, has furnished a source-book containing 575 documents or parts of documents, ranging in date over about 4000 years; *e.g.*, there are some 26 from the ancient Egyptians and 18 on international relations, including the Locarno Conference. The range of topics is catholic: social, political, and economic conditions, science, philosophy, religion, and myths. Any student will find material to whet his interest and to induce him to read more (Heath, 1929, pp. xix, 973).

The contents of the December number of the *Historical Outlook* include an article by L. L. Bernard of Tulane University on What our Latin-American Neighbors Think of Us; one by L. K. Koontz of the Uni-

versity of California on George Washington as Santa Claus, relating to an order by Washington, Sept. 20, 1759, found in the Huntington Library, for "sundries" for the two Custis children; one by B. A. Arneson of Ohio Wesleyan University, entitled *Is the French Cabinet System a Failure?* and one by Clarence Perkins of the University of North Dakota, entitled *An Interpretation of the History of France for Americans*. The January number has a group of articles on the use, validity, etc., of tests in schools, one of these being a discussion, by Dean E. W. Thornton of the Fort Dodge Junior College, of Informational Tests in American History. There is also an article, by J. A. Kinneman of the Illinois State Normal University, entitled *the School Administrator sets Standards in History*. The February number contains an account, by Witt Bowden of the University of Pennsylvania, of the Meeting of the American Historical Association; an article by A. C. Krey of the University of Minnesota entitled *Thirty Years after the Committee of Seven*; one by Sylva T. Hansen of the University High School, University of Iowa, on the Educational Policies of some Prominent Peace and Religious Organizations; and one by J. C. Fitzpatrick, entitled *George Washington as Santa Claus* again, pertaining primarily to a record, among the Washington manuscripts in the Library of Congress, of some Christmas purchases by Washington in 1783. In the March number K. S. Latourette discusses the place of Far Eastern history in the world history course in the high school.

Foreign Affairs for January contains an unusual number of articles which must be noted in an historical journal. Probably the one of greatest interest is Harold Nicolson's review of Ronaldshay's *Life of Lord Curzon*; from intimate acquaintance Nicolson portrays Curzon's character in a masterly manner. "A.E." writes on *Twenty-five Years of Irish Nationality*; V. Stefansson on the history of Iceland and its desire for independence; A. S. de Bustamante on *Arbitration in the Western Hemisphere*; R. J. Kerner, in a review of the memories of Masaryk and Beneš, on the *Winning of Czechoslovak Independence*; and W. Marx on the *Rhineland Occupation*. There is also an interesting group on *Soviet Russia*, and a summary by R. R. Platt of the *Guatemala-Honduras Boundary Dispute*.

The first number of the *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* (see *Review* for October) appeared in January and is excellent. Among the articles is one by Professor H. Pirenne on "*L'Instruction des Marchands au Moyen Age*". In the section "*À Travers les Livres et les Revues*" there is a general review of urban history by Georges Espinas, which is especially noteworthy.

The January number of the *Catholic Historical Review* contains an article on the Catholic University of America, which includes a letter of Pope Pius XI. to the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops of the United States, Oct. 10, 1928; a paper by F. S. Betten, S. J., on the *Adoption of*

the Roman Easter Calculation by the Island Celts; another, by J. M. Lenhart, O. M., Cap., entitled an Important Chapter in American Church History (1625-1650); and one by Sr. M. Ramona, S. C. N., M. A., on the Ecclesiastical Status of New Mexico (1680-1875). Among the documents are the address of Monsignor J. H. Ryan upon the occasion of his installation as Rector of the Catholic University of America, Nov. 14, 1928, and the addresses of Cardinal O'Connell and Mr. C. E. Martin on the same occasion.

In the *Journal of Negro History* for January J. H. Johnston writes on Documentary Evidence of the Relations of Negroes and Indians, and there is a Digest of Documents in the Archives of the Indies relating to negroes in Cuba.

During the past year *Agricultural History* in addition to papers mentioned in the January number of this *Review*, contained among others the following articles: Market Surplus Problems of Colonial Tobacco, by L. C. Gray; Those Kansas Jayhawkers: a Study in Sectionalism, by E. E. Dale; and Jared Eliot, by R. H. True.

A new series of monographs, dealing with the expansion of Europe into the New World, is planned by Adolf Rein under the general caption *Uebersee-Geschichte* (Hamburg, Friedrichsen). The first numbers, which have recently appeared and which seem to depart in some cases from the announced subject of the series are *Das Problem der Europäischen Expansion in der Geschichts-Schreibung* by Adolf Rein (pp. 38), *Amerikanische Interessen- und Prinzipienpolitik in Mexiko 1910-1914, ein Beitrag zur Kritik des Wilsonismus* by Hans G. Römer (pp. x, 150), and *Nordamerika im Urteil des Deutschen Schrifttums bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts, eine Untersuchung über Kürnbergers "Amerika-Müden", mit einer Bibliographie* by Hildegard Meyer (pp. vi, 166). As number four, there is projected a study by Walter Gerhard of *Das Politische System Alexander Hamiltons 1789-1804*.

Professor Ralph Fanning has published an *Outline for the Study of the History of the Fine Arts in Western Civilization from the Earliest Times to the End of the Seventeenth Century*, through the State University Press, Columbus, O., 1928. The outlines are suggestive, and the bibliographical references well chosen; the book is arranged for students at Ohio State University, but should be useful to a wider clientele.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: N. S. B. Gras, *Unternehmertum und Unternehmungsgeschichte* (*Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, LXXXV. 3); Marc Bloch, *Pour une Histoire Comparée des Sociétés Européennes* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, December); Corrado Barbagallo, *Economia Antica e Moderna*, I. (*Nuova Rivista Storica*, September-December); J. S. Reeves, *Perspectives in Political Science, 1903-1928* (*American Political Science Review*, February); Constance Lathrop, *Seagoing Customs* (*United States Naval Institute Proceedings*,

January); E. Foerster, *Liberalismus und Kulturkampf* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVII. 4); C. F. Carusi and C. D. Kojouharoff, *The First Armed Neutrality* (National University Law Review, January); *Militärs als Diplomaten* (Der Krieg, January); Paul Herre, *Kriegsschuldfrage und Geschichtswissenschaft* (Kriegsschuldfrage, February).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: A Vincent, *Chronique d'Histoire Ancienne Orientale* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

An instrument of great value to every historian of antiquity is J. Marouzeau's *Dix Années de Bibliographie Classique: 1914-1924* (Paris, Belles-Lettres, 2 vols., 1927, 1928, pp. 1286).

A volume on ancient history, by Professor Laistner of Cornell, to be published this year, is announced by Heath. This is planned as an interpretation to 330 A. D.

In *The Prehistory of Aviation* Berthold Laufer treats very informally the Romance of Flying in Ancient China, Kites as Precursors of Aeroplanes, the Dawn of Airships in Ancient India, From Babylon and Persia to the Greeks and the Arabs, and the Air Mail of Ancient Times. The monograph is accompanied by 12 plates, curious and interesting, and is supplied with notes and bibliographical references.

The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga, by S. Langdon and J. K. Fotheringham, is a solution of Babylonian chronology by means of the Venus observations of the first dynasty (New York, Oxford Press).

The first fascicle of vol. II. of the "Histoire Générale", published by Gustave Glotz consists of an account of *La Grèce au Ve Siècle* by the editor (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1929, pp. 160).

An important publication is vol. II. of "Peuples et Civilisations", the general history edited by Louis Halphen and Philippe Sagnac. The volume in question deals with *La Grèce et l'Orient des Guerres Médiques à la Conquête Romaine* by Professor Pierre Roussel of Strasbourg, director of the French school at Athens (Paris, Alcan, 1928, pp. 556). Paul Cloché and René Grousset have collaborated.

Eduard Meyer's wish for a systematic study of the literary sources for the period of the late Roman republic is to receive fulfilment at the hands of Fritz Taeger, who presents the first instalment of his undertaking under the title, *Tiberius Gracchus: Untersuchungen zur Römischen Geschichte und Quellenkunde* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1928, pp. 152). The volume has been favorably received.

In the University of California *Publications in Classical Philology*, vol. IX. no. 6, Professor M. E. Deutsch discusses Caesar's choice of a son and heir.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Toutain, *Antiquités Romaines*, 1919-1928 (Revue Historique, November); A. Grenier, *Une Histoire Nouvelle des Guerres Puniques* (Journal des Savants, November); Enrico Rocchi, *Un Notevole Aspetto delle Campagne di Cesare nelle Gallie* (Nuova Antologia, January 1); R. S. Conway, *Octavian and Augustus* (Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, January); Joseph H. Drake, *The Justinian Codification Commission 528 A. D.* (Michigan Law Review, December); J. M. de Navarro, *Massilia and Early Celtic Cultures* (Antiquity, December); Paul Vouga, *The Oldest Swiss Lake-Dwellings* (*ibid.*).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

L. J. Ragatz of George Washington University has published a *Syllabus for the Study of Medieval Times* (Pearlman, Washington), in two parts, containing outlines of lectures, reading references, maps, and pictures, and full advice for students. The syllabus is intended to be used also as a note book.

Vols. IV. and V. of the *Universal History of the World*, edited by J. A. Hamerton (Amalgamated Press) cover the period from the age of the Antonines to the close of the Renaissance. Among the many authors who have contributed chapters are G. G. Coulton, F. M. Stenton, Eileen Power, C. Raymond Beazley, Charles Singer, C. W. Previt -Orton, W. A. Phillips, and Stanley Lane Poole.

Clearer light is thrown on various passages of the Salic law and other early Frankish ordinances by the critical skill of the Viennese scholar Emil Goldmann in *Neue Beitr ge zur Geschichte des Fr nkischen Rechtes* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1928, pp. 135).

Various scholars, notably Beckmann and Lamprecht, have laid stress on the need of an iconography for German Medieval history. An admirable beginning in this direction has been made by two publications of Percy Ernst Schramm, each of which appears in a series edited by Walter Goetz, *Die Deutschen Kaiser und K nige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, part I., 751-1152 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1928, pp. xii, 240) and *Die Zeitgen ssischen Bildnisse Karls des Grossen, mit einem Anhang  ber die Metallbull n der Karolinger* (*ibid.*, pp. iv, 74).

In a British Academy pamphlet, *Christian Documents from Nubia* (Humphrey Milford), Dr. F. Ll. Griffith adds to the small store of Medieval Nubian texts a somewhat long inscription (on a tray) commemorating a certain King George (d. 1158), a legal document on leather, a little earlier, and a graffito from Assouan, of about 1323. All add a little to our slight knowledge of Nubian history, and are furnished with comment and facsimiles.

The Arabic text of the *Histoire des Rois 'Oba dides* (Les Califes Fatimides), by Ibn Hamm d, has been edited and translated into French by M. Vonderheyden. This history was written in 1220. The first two-

thirds had been published in the *Journal Asiatique*, but the last part is here made accessible for the first time. Although it covers the period when the Fatimites were in constant relations with the Crusaders, the latter are mentioned only once; and nothing is added to our knowledge of Saladin. (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, 3d. ser., fasc. 11, Algiers, 1927.)

An interesting phase of statecraft at the court of the most modern of Medieval emperors is discussed by Otto Vehse of the Prussian Institute at Rome in *Die Amtliche Propaganda in der Staatskunst Kaiser Friedrichs II.* (Munich, Verlag der Münchner Drucke, pp. viii, 245).

After six years Professor Rudolf Häpke has prepared a second edition of his *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* in the Handels-Hochschul-Bibliothek. Although considerably enlarged, the first part, *Mittelalter und Merkantilismus* (Leipzig, 1928, pp. xvi, 143) is still a very brief outline, but with well-selected references that make it a good introduction to the study of the subject.

The series *Chartes et Diplômes Relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, published under the auspices of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, is enriched by vol. III. of the *Recueil des Actes de Henri II., Roi d'Angleterre et Duc de Normandie, concernant les Provinces Françaises et les Affaires de France*, a posthumous work of Leopold Delisle, revised by Elie Berger, both of the Institute (Paris, Klincksieck, 1929, pp. 270).

A minute relation of living-conditions in a small Savoyard town during the late Middle Ages has been made by O. Morel, entitled *La Vie à Chatillon-en-Dombes, d'après les Comptes de Syndics, 1375-1500* (Paris, Ficker, 1928, 2 vols.).

The final volume of Heinrich Finke's great edition of the *Acta Concilii Constantiensis*, in which J. Hollnsteiner and H. Heimpel have collaborated, has now appeared. Vols. I.-III. came out in 1896, 1923, and 1926, respectively; vol. IV. (1928) contains a general introduction, material on Spanish relations with the council, on tyrannicide, imperial affairs, reform tractates, etc., together with a register to vols. II.-IV. and one to vols. IV. and V. of v. d. Hardt's *Magnum Oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium* (Münster, Regensburg, pp. ciii, 1024).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Erich Caspar, *Historische Probleme der Aelteren Papstgeschichte* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXIX. 2); Walther Holtzmann, *Die Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Alexios I. und Papst Urban II. im Jahre 1089* (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXVIII. 1-2); P. Rassow, *Der Kampf Kaiser Heinrichs IV. mit Heinrich V.* (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XLVII. 4); R. McKeon, *Thomas Aquinas' Doctrine of Knowledge and its Historical Setting* (*Speculum*, October); D. M. Petruševski, *Strittige Fragen der Mittelalterlichen Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsfrage* (*Zeitschrift für die*

Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXXXV. 3); Fritz Rörig, *Die Geistigen Grundlagen der Hansischen Vormachtstellung* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIX. 2); L. K. Born, *The Perfect Prince: a Study in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Ideals* (Speculum, October); *id.*, *Erasmus on Political Ethics* (Political Science Quarterly, December).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The first number of the *Journal of Modern History* (176 pages) comes to hand just as this section of the *Review* is in galley-proof. Among the contents are two excellent longer articles: England and Denmark in the Later Days of Queen Elizabeth, by Edward P. Cheyney, and Mr. Oversecretary Stephen, by Paul Knaplund. There is also a short article by Chester P. Higby on the Present Status of Modern European History in the United States. For the Documents section Leo Gershoy contributes Three Letters of Bertrand Barère, and Samuel N. Harper, a Communist View of Historical Studies. Ernest W. Nelson has an excellent "bibliographical article" on Recent Literature concerning Erasmus, and Godfrey Davies and the editor, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, "review articles", the first on 7 Recent Textbooks of English History, the latter on the Origins of the War, taking up the four books by Renouvin, Fischer, Wilson, and Fay. Fourteen book reviews and a bibliography (34 pages) of "books of consequence" which appeared in 1928, frequently with a brief annotation, conclude this number. The editor is to be congratulated on such an auspicious beginning.

The *Recueil des Plus Célèbres Astrologues et Quelques Hommes Doctes fait par Symon de Phares du Temps de Charles VIII.* is a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, of great importance for the history of science and particularly for that of astronomy and medicine. It has been published by Ernest Wickersheimer, of the university library at Strasbourg (Paris, Champion, 1929, pp. 302).

A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century, by J. W. Allen (New York, Dial Press) treats the political theories and problems of Germany, Switzerland, England, France, and Italy, with especial attention to Bodin and Machiavelli.

The School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University has brought out a volume of lectures by James Brown Scott on Francisco de Vitoria, 1480-1546, and Francisco Suarez, 1548-1617, entitled *The Spanish Origin of International Law*.

A Voyage around the World in the Years 1740-1744, by Commodore George Anson, has been edited by G. S. L. Clowes, and published in a limited edition by C. E. Lauriat, Boston.

Letters of the Empress Frederick, edited by Sir Frederick Ponsonby, are the letters written to her mother, Queen Victoria, 1858-1900 (Macmillan).

The fourth volume of Professor Josef Šusta's *Svetova Politika* ("World Politics") *v Letech 1871-1914*, covering the period from Fashoda to Algeçiras, has been issued by Vesmir (Prague, 1928).

R. F. Young has written a brief account of a Bohemian Scholar at Heidelberg and Oxford in the sixteenth century which is published by the School of Slavonic Studies in the University of London (1928). The account tells little about the university but sheds light on the educational activities of the "Unitas Fratrum" or Bohemian Brethren.

Historical Readings in Nineteenth Century Thought contains essays by Huxley, Spencer, Marx, Kropotkin, and Tolstoy, and the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. on "The Condition of Labor". Each essay is preceded by a brief sketch, partly biographical and partly explanatory, by one of the editors, W. P. Hall and E. A. Beller (New York, Century Company, 1928).

The Hakluyt Society has in press *Spanish Documents concerning English Voyages to the Caribbean, 1527-1568*. The volume contains 29 heretofore unpublished documents, from the Archives of the Indies, in English translation and edited by Miss Irene A. Wright, who furnished an excellent introduction.

Our Own Times, by H. C. Thomas and W. A. Hamm, the third volume of the "A B C of History", traces the events since 1870. It is a readable sketch, including social and economic changes, and forms a good introduction to the history of the period (Vanguard Press, 1928).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. G. E. Rope, *Some Thoughts on the Renaissance* (Catholic World, January); Gaston Dodu, *Les Idées de Charles V. en Matière de Gouvernement* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); E. Kohlmeyer, *Die Bedeutung der Kirche für Luther* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVII. 4); H. Lüthje, *Melanchthons Anschauung über das Recht des Widerstandes gegen die Staatsgewalt* (ibid.); L. E. Halkin, *Le Plus Ancien Texte d'Édit Promulgué contre les Luthériens* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January); Otto Haintz, *Karl XII. und Peter der Grosse vor Pultawa 1709* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January); D. B. Horn, *Saxony in the War of the Austrian Succession* (English Historical Review, January); Carlo de Antonio, *La Prima Visita di Napoleone Imperatore a Torino Aprile 1805; dal Diario Inedito di un Gentiluomo Piemontese* (Nuova Antologia, November 16); J. Holland Rose, *The Political Reactions of Bonaparte's Eastern Expedition* (English Historical Review, January); Guy de Traversay, *La Première Tentative de République Rhénane*, I., concl. (Revue de Paris, November 15, Dec. 1); Gaetano Vitali, *Guglielmo II. e Bismarck*, I. (Nuova Antologia, January 16); Graf Max Montgelas, *Bismarck und Schweinitz*, I., cont. (Kriegsschuldfrage, January, February); Horst Höhne, *Joseph Chamberlain und Die Grosse Politik bis zur Eröffnung der Deutsch-Englischen Bündnisbesprechungen* (Vierteljahrsschrift für Politik und Geschichte, I. 7, 1); William L. Langer, *Russia, the Straits*

Question, and the European Powers, 1904-1908 (English Historical Review, January); B. Nikitine, *L'Union Soviétique et l'Orient Musulman; Pactes de Garantie* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October).

WORLD WAR

In *An Outline History of the Great War* Major G. V. Carey and Captain H. S. Scott, have given an outline of the main British campaigns, and have attempted in the last chapter "to summarise very briefly the attitude and experience of those who walked through the valley of the shadow of death". Each chapter has suggestions for reading; there are eight illustrations, seventeen maps, and an index of seventeen pages. In spite of the great compression the account is clear, and is enlivened by passages such as the one (pp. 155-156) on Sergeant-Major Skinner's heroism (Cambridge University Press, 1928, pp. viii, 279, American agents, the Macmillan Company).

An exhaustive study of *Tannenberg; das Deutsche Heer von 1914. seine Grundzüge und deren Auswirkung im Sieg an der Ostfront* has been published by Walter Elze (Breslau, Hirt, 1928, pp. 370). The work, which has the coöperation of the Reichsarchiv, consists of two parts, an exposition and a collection of sources.

In the series *Economic and Social History of the World War* the Yale University Press has published Boris E. Nolde's *Russia in the Economic War*, and *Studies in the War History of a Neutral*, vol. IV., *Netherlands and the World War*, containing two parts, the "Effect of the War upon Banking and Currency", by Dr. G. Vissering, and "War Finances in the Netherlands, 1918-1922: the Costs of the War", by Dr. H. W. C. Bordewyk.

A monograph of exceptional interest is Marshal Pétain's account of *La Bataille de Verdun* (Paris, Payot, 1929).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Egon Gottschalk, *Der Völkerrechtliche Gehalt der Kriegsschuldfrage* (Kriegsschuldfrage, February); Vaso Trivanovitch, *The Responsibility for the Sarajevo Assassination* (Current History, March); Georg Vogel, *Der Einfluss Nicolson's und Crowe's auf die Politik Sir Edward Grey's bei Kriegsausbruch, nach den Randvermerken in den Englischen Akten* (Europäische Gespräche, November); *Mobilisierung-Krieg* (Der Krieg, February); Joh. Victor Bredt, *Die Italienische Rückversicherung* (Kriegsschuldfrage, December); Edmond Delage, *Le Drame du Jutland*, I., concl. (Revue de Paris, December 1, 15); H. A. de Weerd, *Winston Churchill, a British War Lord* (Current History, January); Friedrich Ritter von Wiesner, *Das Serbische Memorandum vom Jahre 1919 über die Kriegsschuld der Mittelmächte* (Kriegsschuldfrage, December); Oskar v. Wertheimer, *Graf Stefan Tisza und der Eintritt Italiens in den Weltkrieg* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January); S. B. Fay, *Revelations in Latest British War*

Documents (Current History, January); Stéphane Lauzanne, *Marshal Foch's Story of the Armistice* (Living Age, February).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: F. Cabrol, *Courrier Anglais* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

Low and Pulling's *Dictionary of English History*, first published in 1894, has been revised and enlarged by F. J. C. Hearnshaw and is published by Cassell of London.

Vol. 13, no. 1 (January) of the *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library contains a Hand-list of the Collection of English Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1928.

The papers published in the *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society, 4th ser., vol. XI. (London, 1928) are of unusual interest. T. F. Tout in his presidential address dwelt on the Human Side of Mediaeval Records, with many an apt illustration. A. E. Stamp, on the thirty-fifth anniversary of his entrance into the Public Record Office, gave an account of its work and reminiscences of its early days and the scholars who had worked in it. The titles of the other papers, each one a valuable contribution, are the Anglo-Russian Relations during the First English Revolution, by Madame Inna Lubimenko; the Merchant Adventurers of Bristol in the Fifteenth Century, by Miss E. M. Carus-Wilson; a Study in the History of Clare, Suffolk, with special reference to its development as a borough, by Gladys A. Thornton; Polydore Vergil's Will, by E. A. Whitney and P. P. Cram; and the Origins of Parliament, by H. G. Richardson.

As a separate from the *Proceedings* of the British Academy, Humphrey Milford publishes its annual Italian Lecture, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethans*, in which Dr. Mario Praz traces, with great literary learning, the growth and development in Elizabethan literature of the legend of Machiavelli as the inventor of the practices of which he essayed to give scientific description.

A valuable psychological study is Helmut Kittel's *Oliver Cromwell, seine Religion und seine Sendung* (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1928, pp. 262).

The History of Science Society has published a bicentenary evaluation of the work of *Sir Isaac Newton, 1727-1927* (Baltimore, Williams and Wilkins).

Select Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1830-1860, edited by Kenneth N. Bell and W. P. Morrell is published by the Clarendon Press.

The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher's Raleigh Lecture, read last October before the British Academy, of which he is now president, is published by Humphrey Milford, separately from the *Proceedings*, as a pamphlet entitled *The Whig Historians*. Much the greatest part of it is concerned with Macaulay, lesser portions with Hallam and Trevelyan.

The first volume of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, edited by J. Holland Rose, A. P. Newton, and E. A. Benians was announced for publication in March.

The Quacks of Old London, by C. J. S. Thompson (Philadelphia, Lippincott), is a history of mountebanks, charlatans, and magicians in the seventeenth century.

The seventh volume of the *Bibliotheca Celtica*, published by the National Library of Wales, is a register of publications relating to Wales and the Celtic peoples and languages for the years 1919 to 1923. It also includes about 200 items for the years 1909–1918 not recorded in the earlier volumes. It is a book of 468 pages (Aberystwyth, 1928).

Lowell J. Ragatz of the George Washington University, author of the volume on the *Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean* recently published by the American Historical Association through the Century Company, has brought out a valuable pamphlet of twenty-five pages folio, *Statistics for the Study of British Caribbean Economic History, 1763–1833* (London, the Bryan Edwards Press; Washington, D. C., Paul Pearlman), as an accompaniment to his volume of text and a supplement to Sir William Young's *West-Indian Common-place Book* (London, 1807). It embraces seventy-one statistical tables, of great value to the student of the subject.

The *Victorian Historical Magazine* (Melbourne, Australia) for June, contains three articles on Melbourne, an account of the Police in Port Phillip and Victoria, 1836–1913, a paper on the Formation of the First Federal Ministry, and a brief note by Paul Knaplund of Wisconsin, on Sir James Stephen on a White Australia.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Cary, *La Grande-Bretagne Romaine: Nouvelles Fouilles et Recherches* (Revue Historique, September); Maurice Caudel, *Le Développement des Juridictions Administratives en Angleterre* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); Oscar A. Marti, *Passive Resistance of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians during the Period of the Restoration, 1660–1672* (Journal of Religion, October); Sir St. Clair Thomson, *The Strenuous Life of a Physician of the 18th Century* [John Coakley Lettsom, 1744–1815] (Annals of Medical History, January); J. Holland Rose, *Captain Cook and the Founding of British Power in the Pacific* (Geographical Journal, February); Sir Henry Newbolt, *Captain James Cook and the Sandwich Islands* (*ibid*); Denis Gwynn, *Edmund Burke and Catholic Emancipation* (Catholic World, January); A. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *John Morley und Edward Grey* (Europäische Gespräche, November); Veracissimus, *Il Quinto Volume dei Documenti Diplomatici Inglesi* (Nuova Antologia, January 16); Geoffrey Baskerville, *Elections to Convocation in the Diocese of Gloucester under Bishop Hooper* (English Historical Review, January).

FRANCE

General reviews: Henri Hauser, *Histoire de France; Histoire Moderne, 1498-1660* (Revue Historique, September); G. Pagès, *Histoire de France, de 1660 à 1789* (*ibid.*, November).

A fresh study has been made of *Monsieur, Comte de Provence*, by Joseph Turquan and Jules d'Auriac (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1929, pp. 345).

A little-known chapter of French history finds its narrator in Jean Lognon, who writes concerning *Les Français d'Outre-Mer au Moyen Age: Essai sur l'Expansion Française dans le Bassin de la Méditerranée* (Paris, Perrin, 1929).

How France, broken into hundreds of feudal states, ultimately achieved her unity, is set forth by G. Dupont-Ferrier, professor at the École des Chartes, in *La Formation de l'État Français et l'Unité Française, des Origines au Milieu du XVIe Siècle* (Paris, Colin, 1929, pp. 280).

French history will be made more vivid by the *Iconographie des Rois de France*, part I., *De Louis IX. à Louis XIII.*, by Lieut.-Col. Ch. Maumené and Comte Louis d'Harcourt (Paris, Colin, 1929, pp. 300).

An interesting monograph on *La Monarchie d'Ancien Régime en France de Henri IV. à Louis XIV.* has been published by the learned Georges Pagès (Paris, Colin, 1928, pp. 217).

Professor R. B. Burke of the University of Pennsylvania has made a translation of Goulet's *Compendium*, which Rashdall describes as "the earliest historical account of the University of Paris"; but, as Rashdall also noted, the volume is valuable as a sketch of the university in 1517 and not for the earlier history. Robert Goulet was a professor of theology at Paris and consequently was able to give a very complete account of the university, and occasionally added other details of interest. The volume is published by the University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928, under the title *Compendium Universitatis Parisiensis of Robert Goulet, A.D. 1517*.

Of interest to social history is *La Femme et la Société Française dans la Première Moitié du XVIIe Siècle* by Gustave Fagniez, with preface by M. Funck-Brentano (Paris, Gamber, 1929, pp. 416).

A translation by K. L. Montgomery of vol. I. of Henri Bremond's literary history of religious thought in France, is published by Macmillan under the title *Devout Humanism*. It is a study of French Catholicism during the seventeenth century; the sources, main currents, and development of a religious renaissance.

As vol. XXXI. of the "Archives de la France Monastique", Dom. G. Charvin publishes with introduction and notes Dom Martène's *Histoire de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur*, of which he was one of the most learned and active members. Vol. I., *Des Origines de la Congrégation à*

l'Élection de Dom Grégoire Tarrisse comme Supérieur Général, 1612-1630, is now ready (Ligugé, Abbaye Saint-Martin; Paris, Picard, 1928, pp. xxxiv, 287).

The Magnificent Montmorency, by Cyril H. Hartmann, is a biography of Henri, second Duc de Montmorency, who was condemned by one of Richelieu's special tribunals in 1632 (New York, Dutton).

In the May-June (1928) number of the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne*, M. Georges Lefebvre has followed up his study, in the preceding number, of the results of research upon the distribution of landed property in France under the Old Régime by an equally remarkable review of the progress made in investigating the sales of public lands during the Revolution, whether these lands came from the nationalization of church property or the confiscation of the property of the emigrants. Incidentally he offers some pertinent criticisms of the method according to which several of the volumes of the collection on the economic history of the Revolution have been edited.

One of the most valuable recent publications in Revolutionary history, the fruit of years of research in the archives of provincial cities and obscure towns, is L. de Cardenal's *La Province pendant la Révolution: Histoire des Clubs Jacobins, 1789-1795* (Paris, Payot, 1929).

Henri Foulon de Vaulx, the specialist in the problem of the dauphin's disappearance has published a critical study of the subject, entitled *Louis XVII., ses Deux Suppressions* (Paris, Payot, 1928, pp. 528).

The first number of the resuscitated *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes* contains two articles, "Les Polonais à la Moskova" by Général M. Kukiel, and "Le Roi de Rome ou le Rêve de l'Empereur, 1810-1815"; an address made by the editor, M. Édouard Driault, at the opening of the Musée Napoléon in Rome. He has also recently published two volumes, *Le Roi de Rome*, and *La Vrai Figure de Napoléon* (review, XXXIV. 157), both through Morancé of Paris. There is a review of the latter in this number of the *Revue* by E. Le Gallo, and an explanation by M. Driault, reprinted from the *Courrier de Paris*, of his purpose in writing the book.

To the growing list of books illustrating Napoleon's religious policy should be added *Les Congrégations Religieuses au Temps de Napoléon*, by Léon Deries (Paris, 1929), which recounts the efforts of various orders abolished by the Revolution to reconstitute themselves on French soil. The author's attitude is sympathetic rather than purely objective. His work is based upon documents preserved in the archives as well as upon the monographic literature of the orders themselves. It appears that Napoleon showed less opposition to "congrégations" of women than to those made up of men. Indeed, certain charitable orders of women, especially sisters in charge of hospitals, had maintained a continuous existence throughout the Revolution, submitting to a change of garb and

being treated as individuals rather than as members of an order. One is surprised to find that on July 4, 1793, even the redoubtable commune of Paris voted 6200 livres to the sisters at the Hôtel-Dieu. Especially interesting are the chapters on the "Frères de la Doctrine Chrétienne", whose work for education was noteworthy, and on the Trappists, who were placed in charge of relief work in the passes of the high Alps.

A new collection of biographical studies, in the genre so beloved of the French heart, will be called "Les Leçons du Passé" and will specialize in counter-revolutionists. The editors are P. Bessand-Massenet and Marcel Boullenger; the first number, *Georges Cadoudal* is by G. Lenôtre (Paris, Grasset, 1929).

The *Mémoires* of Madame de Genlis, friend of the Duc d'Orléans, tutor of Louis Philippe, author and educator, are issued, with preface by J. Lucas-Dubreton in the collection *La Vie et les Mœurs au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris, Firmin, 1928, 2 vols., pp. 254, 228).

A fresh addition to the "Récits d'Autrefois" is made by P. de Vaisière's *Conjuration de Cinq-Mars*; though it is a work of popularization, the author has consulted unpublished documents (Paris, Hachette, 1928, pp. 125).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: André Bellessort, *L'Avignon des Papes* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 15); Gaston Dodu, *Le Roi de Bourges ou Dix-neuf Ans de la Vie du Charles VII.* (Revue Historique, September); C. G. Picavet, *Le Français et les Langues Étrangères dans la Diplomatie au Temps de Louis XIV.* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); M. Langlois, *Madame de Maintenon et le Saint-Siège* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January); J. Carreyre, *Le Concile d'Embrun, 1727-1728, I.* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); Commander A. H. Miles, U. S. N., *A Great Forgotten Man [Admiral De Grasse]* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, January); Generale Filareti, *Idealità e Interessi nella Rivoluzione Francese* (Nuova Rivista Storica, September); Comte de Saint-Priest, *Souvenirs sur la Révolution, I.* (Revue de Paris, December 15); Albert Mathiez, *Notes Inédites de Blanqui sur Robespierre* (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, July); Albert Mathiez, *La Terreur Blanche de l'An III.* (*ibid.*, September); Ernest d'Hauterive, *Dernières Conversations de Sainte-Hélène; l'Empereur Commente son Testament* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 15); A. Augustin-Thierry, *Amédée Thierry*, concl. (*ibid.*, December 1); Comtesse des Garets, *Souvenirs sur l'Impératrice Eugénie, I.*, concl. (Revue de Paris, November 1, 15); Georges Collas, *Bibliographie des Oeuvres de l'Abbé Duine* (Annales de Bretagne, XXXVIII. 1).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Il Regno di Napoli dal Luglio 1799 al Marzo 1806 by P. Pieri (Naples, Ricciardi, 1928, pp. 314) is highly praised.

A. Segre has written a life of *Vittorio Emanuele I.*, the fruit of exhaustive research (Turin, Paravia, pp. 322).

Un Re in Esilio; la Corte di Francesco II. in Roma is based on the diaries of P. Calà Ulloa, chief minister of the Neapolitan king from 1861 to 1870; the introduction and notes are by G. Doria (Bari, Laterza, 1928, pp. vii, LX, 248).

A number of essays by German and Spanish scholars on various topics in Medieval and modern history, but mostly concerned with ecclesiastical subjects, are published by H. Finke, in collaboration with K. Beyerle and G. Schreiber as *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* (Spanische Forschungen zur Görresgesellschaft, Reihe I., Bd. I., Münster, Aschendorff, 1928, pp. 392).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Louis Bertrand, *Philippe II. à l'Escorial*, I, II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 1, 15); *Nel Centenario di Nigra*; Delfino Orsi, *Il Mistero dei Ricordi Diplomatici di Costantino Nigra*; Carlo Richelmy, *Lettere Inedite di Costantino Nigra*; Pio Spezi, *Costantino Nigra Traduttore*; Alessandro de Bosdari, *Carteggio Cavour-Nigra* (Nuova Antologia, November 16); Francesco Pellati, *Scavi e Scoperte in Italia* (*ibid.*, January 16).

GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND AUSTRIA

Europäische Gespräche for November-December contains a sixty-page "Bibliographie zur Auswärtigen Politik".

Vol. II. of the second edition of Heinrich Brunner's well-known *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, carefully and ably revised by Claudius Freiherr v. Schwerin, is now available (Munich, Duncker, 1928, pp. 934).

Thanks to the accidental collapse of an unimportant chest in the rooms of the ministry of state, a supposedly mythical correspondence has come to light, making possible the publication by Gustav Mayer of *Bismarck und Lassalle, ihr Briefwechsel und ihre Gespräche* (Berlin, Dietz, 1928, pp. 108).

Theodor von Sosnosky, in a scholarly and readable biography (*Franz Ferdinand, der Erzherzog-Thronfolger*, Munich and Berlin, 1929, R. Oldenbourg, pp. 255), has gathered together almost all that can be known about the Archduke Franz Ferdinand—at least until the archduke's private papers are made accessible to historians. In his account of the archduke's sphinx-like personality, his political views and influence, and his tragic trip to Sarajevo, Dr. Sosnosky's views and conclusions agree closely with those in the second volume of Professor Fay's *Origins of the World War*.

Vol. II. of Michael Doeberl's *Entwicklungsgeschichte Bayerns* (third revised edition) covers the years from the Peace of Westphalia to the death of King Maximilian I. in 1825 (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1928, pp. 636).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Karl Stolz, *Die Wiener Nahrungs- und Genussmittelpolitik im Mittelalter* (Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, VIII.); Gustav Roloff, *Abrüstung und Kaiserplan vor dem Kriege 1870* (Preussische Jahrbücher, November); Theodor Eschenburg, *Die Daily-Telegraph-Affäre; nach Unveröffentlichten Dokumenten* (ibid.); *The Kaiser's Letters* [translated from the *Berliner Tageblatt*] (Living Age, March); Hans von Dallwitz, *Aus meinen Erinnerungen*, II., III. (Preussische Jahrbücher, November, December); Maurice Lair, *Le Premier Président du Reich*; Fritz Ébert (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October-December); Emilio Re, *Ludovico Pastor* (Nuova Antologia, November 1); T. G. Masaryk, *Message to Czechoslovakia on the Tenth Anniversary of Independence* (Slavonic Review, January).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The *Histoire de la Belgique Contemporaine, 1830-1914*, is a work of popularization, which is not without serious value in view of the competence of its authors. For vol. I. (Brussels, Dewitt, 1928, pp. xii, 408), Viscount Ch. Terlinden, professor at Louvain, treats the formation of the kingdom; Alfred de Ridder, director-general at the ministry of foreign affairs, studies the relations of Belgium with the great European powers; F. Baudhuin discusses the economic history of the country; and Professor G. Eeckhout of the University of Ghent, gives an exposition of the genesis and evolution of representative institutions since 1830.

A new volume in the Carnegie Endowment's Social and Economic History of the World War, Belgian series, is that on *Déportation et Travail Forcé des Ouvriers et de la Population Civile de la Belgique Occupée* by Fernand Passelecq (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1929, pp. 492).

Noteworthy article in periodical: Frank Pierrepont Graves, *The Story of the Library at Louvain* (Scientific Monthly, February).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: G. Gautier, *Histoire de Russie [1915-1916]* (Revue Historique, September).

S. Platonov is perhaps the leading contemporary Russian historian; his *Histoire de la Russie des Origines à 1918*, translated from the Russian, forms a part of the "Bibliothèque Historique" (Paris, Payot, 1929, pp. 992).

La Saint Siège et l'Orient Russe, 1609-1654, by Professor E. Šmurlo, contains many documents drawn from various archives, printed in the original Latin and Italian, preceded by commentaries on these documents (in Russian) divided into 18 chapters, and by French summaries of these commentaries likewise arranged, and followed by a chronological table and indexes for each section. The whole forms a notable addition to the

material bearing on the relations between the Holy See and Russia in this period (Publications des Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Prague, Orbis, 1928).

The place of poetry in politics receives a curious illustration in the fact that the great Russian poet Pushkin's anti-Polish trilogy was officially used by the Tsar's government in its attempted Russification of the annexed territories; the trilogy and its history are studied in *Pouchkine et la Pologne* by Venceslas Lednicki, professor at Cracow University (Paris, Leroux, 1928, pp. 210).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Lis Jacobsen, *Les Vikings, suivant les Inscriptions Runiques du Danemark* (Revue Historique, September); Stefan Freiherr Sarkotić von Lovćen, *Der Hochverrats-Prozess von Banjaluka* (Kriegsschuldfrage, January).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The publishing house of Christo G. Danov, the oldest in Bulgaria, has announced the publication of an historical collection (in Bulgarian) under the title "Readings in Bulgarian History". To appear during the first year of this new collection are the following: *Prehistoric Bulgaria* by Raphael Popov, *Ancient Thrace and Roman Domination in Bulgaria*, by Ivan Pastouhov, *The Roman Empire of the East* (Byzantium) and *The Slavs* by Ivan Kepov, *The Bulgarians, From Asparuh to Omurtag, From Omurtag to Boris*, the three by Professor Ghesa Feher, *King Boris*, by Nicolas Stanev, *Saint Cyril and Saint Methodius and their Disciples* by Tzvetan Stoyanov.

La Bulgarie announces the publication of an important historical work by G. D. Balastchev, entitled *La Bulgarie pendant les Dernières Decades du Xe Siècle*. In the appendix are translations of the sources used.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Edward Beněs, *Central Europe after Ten Years* (Slavonic Review, January); *A Croat View of the Yugoslav Crisis* (*ibid.*); G. Tschubinaschwili, *Zur Frage der Kuppelhallen Armeniens* (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXVIII. 1-2).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

In the second and third volumes of his *Bibliotheca Missionum*, Robert Streit, O. M., dealt with Catholic missions on the American continent. Vol. IV. of this monumental work is concerned with *Asiatische Missionsliteratur, 1245-1599* (Aachen, Missionsdruckerei, 1928, pp. 21, 626). Father Streit gives a bibliographical description of 2052 documents and other sources, together with biographical notices of the more important missionaries.

Valuable material on the beginnings of Portuguese activity in India was discovered by G. Schurhammer and E. A. Voretzsch in 1923, revealing the wealth of sources on this period in possession of the Lisbon ar-

chives and those of the Jesuit order. A portion, consisting mainly of contemporary letters is now published as *Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bāhu und Franz Xavers 1539-1552; Neue Quellen zur Geschichte der Portugiesenherrschaft und Franziskanermission auf Ceylon* (Leipzig, Verlag der Asia Major, 1928, 2 vols., pp. xxviii, 727).

The Duke University Press has issued *A Pioneer Tobacco Merchant in the Orient*, by James A. Thomas. The book is the story of Mr. Thomas's experiences in building up the tobacco trade in Oriental countries, chiefly in China.

G. E. Stechert (New York) has recently published *Ancient Chinese Political Theories*, by Kuo-Cheng Wu, and *Russo-Chinese Diplomacy*, by Ken Shen Weigh.

Vol. XIV., no. 1 (January) of *Shirin* has among other articles, in Japanese, one on Two Great Historians in the Modern Age, Tokugawa Mitsukuni and Arai Hakuseki, by H. Miura, and a Chronological Study on the Historical Records in Ancient China, by S. Shinio.

Noteworthy article in periodical: A Siamese Official, *Siam: her History and Religion* (Mid-Pacific Magazine, February).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Stéphane Gsell has advanced his great work, the *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* by the publication of vols. VII. and VIII., *La République Romaine et les Rois Indigènes* and *Jules César et l'Afrique, Fin des Royaumes Indigènes* (Paris, Hachette, 1928).

In the Quarterly Journal of Economics, November, M. M. Knight, writes on *Water and the Course of Empire in North Africa*.

AMERICA

The Seventieth Congress in its final session made the usual appropriation of \$7000 for the printing of the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, and passed legislation authorizing the completion and printing (for which, however, appropriations must be made hereafter) of the papers in Washington archives relating to the history of the territories—the early history of the present states in their territorial period—an enterprise which, in accordance with previous legislation, has been carried to a certain extent by the Department of State. The bill for providing a new and adequate edition of the *Writings of Washington*, recommended by the Washington Bicentennial Commission, was passed by the Senate, but at so late a date that it was not passed by the House.

The Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington (reprinted from Year Book no. 27, December, 1928) contains an account of the work done during the last twenty-three years under the direction of Dr. Jameson. Probably few members of the Association, even those best informed,

realize the extent of the publications and aid to research recorded in this brief report: the various guides to the archives, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies*, *Proceedings and Debates of British Parliaments respecting North America*, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico*, *Nueva Vizcaya*, etc., the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, the *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, *Judicial Cases concerning Slavery and the Negro*.

It is expected that the second volume, 1650-1697, of the late Dr. Frances G. Davenport's *Treaties between European Powers bearing on the History of the United States* will appear within the month. The volume, of 365 pages, ends with the Treaty of Ryswyk.

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress are: an address, by Dr. Edmund C. Burnett, on the Papers of the Continental Congress, delivered in the Manuscript Division in January; photostats of many letters of George Washington preserved in historical collections elsewhere; photostats of Durham Parish (Charles County, Maryland) Vestry Book, 1774-1824; a letter of Gen. Nathanael Greene to Lafayette, June 23, 1781; 36 volumes of manuscript records of Georgetown, D. C.; letters of Oliver Wolcott, jr., 1792-1815; a typewritten copy of a journal of George Hunter, on journey up the Red and Washita rivers with William Dunbar, 1804; photostat of letter of William Henry Harrison to John Armstrong, Oct. 5, 1813; some seventy letters of John Randolph of Roanoke to Richard Kidder Randolph, with letters by William Henry Harrison, William Sullivan, and others to the same; log of the brig *Annawan*, Valparaiso to Stonington, Conn., 1833, Nathaniel B. Palmer, master, with narrative of a previous voyage in the South Pacific, 1831-1832, by George Hubbard, second mate; a group of letters to George Bancroft, Mrs. George Bancroft, and Capt. Alexander Bliss, 1843-1868; "The Flag and the Cross, a History of the United States Christian Commission", dated 1894, by James Grant, a member of that commission; letters of Joseph Christmas Ives to his mother, 1862, and related Civil War correspondence; a diary of Mrs. Betty Herndon Maury, Fredericksburg, Va., June 3, 1861-Feb. 8, 1863; and Hanson Hard's account of a journey from Paducah, Ky., to Mobile and back, in the spring of 1864, while a prisoner to the Confederates. Also, papers of Edmond C. Genet, William J. Bryan, and Robert Lansing, several thousands of each. But by far the most important accession (and indeed the most valuable gift the library has ever had) is a large and highly remarkable collection of original documents from the early days of Spanish conquest and settlement in Peru and Mexico, presented by Mr. Edward S. Harkness of New York. The Peruvian portion, embracing more than a thousand pieces, chiefly of the sixteenth century, abounds in documents of the *conquistadores*—the Pizarros, Almagro, and others; the Mexican contains many that spring from the family and companions of Cortes. More recently, Mr. K. Minassian of New York has presented

to the library a small but valuable collection of Oriental manuscripts, chiefly Arabic, together with interesting specimens of Babylonian clay tablets.

Students should also be made aware of the enormous increase of the library's materials for American history through photographic reproduction of documents in foreign archives and libraries, though no adequate enumeration is possible in these pages. The great enterprise on which the library has embarked for this purpose, and which since September, 1927, has been under the conduct in Europe of Professor Samuel F. Bemis, has, through his energy and organizing skill, already brought within its walls photographic reproductions, in sheets or in films, of more than 90,000 pages of such materials. These include documents from the British Museum and the Public Record Office in London (for instance, the correspondence between the Foreign Office and the British legation in the United States down to 1837); from the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Archives Nationales, and the Archives of the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères in Paris; the Archivo Histórico Nacional and the Ministerio de Estado in Madrid; the Archivo General de Indias in Seville; the Algemeene Rijksarchief in the Hague; the Staatsarchiv in Berlin-Dahlem; the Staatsarchiv in Hamburg; the Public Archives of Canada; and the Archivo General y Público in Mexico. The processes are going on with increased rapidity in the present year, and are to continue for at least three years more, and will in many respects make work in the Library of Congress an effective substitute for visits to foreign archives.

Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Buenos Aires, vol. VI., no. 36, contains the conclusion of an inventory of documents in the Foreign Office relating to America.

A Guide to the Sources for Early American History, which is being prepared by Professor E. B. Greene of Columbia University, and Mr. Richard B. Morris of the College of the City of New York, is in press for publication by the Columbia University Press.

Articles in the December number of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society are: the Catholic Church in the United States during the Civil War (1852-1866), by R. J. Murphy; and Brevet Major-General St. Clair A. Mulholland, Patriot and Catholic, by Anne Easby-Smith. General Mulholland (1839-1910), author of the *History of the One Hundred and Sixteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers*, was an artist as well as a soldier (he had a part in the preparation of the Cyclorama of the Battle of Gettysburg), and it was two water-color scenes of his, discovered in the small town of Pahala, Hawaii, that inspired this article. The bibliography of Americana in the library of the American Catholic Historical Society is continued, the present instalment pertaining to the years 1830-1847.

No 31 of the *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society (pp. xxxv, 334) contains, besides records of the society's thirty-third,

thirty-fourth, and thirty-fifth annual meetings and other customary matter, several interesting contributions. G. R. G. Conway, of the City of Mexico, develops from the Archives of the Inquisition in that city and other sources the story of Hernando Alonso, a Jewish *conquistador* and respected companion of Narvaez and Cortes, who was burned for Jewish practices in 1528. This is followed by a list, drawn up soon after 1603, of a hundred *sambenitos* of Jews condemned between 1528 and that date. Dr. Cecil Roth discourses on the Life and Writings of Abraham Wagg, a Jew living in New York, who made attempts toward peace between England and America in 1778; Dr. M. J. Kohler, on the doctrine that Christianity is a Part of the Common Law, apropos of the decision of the House of Lords in *Bowman v. Secular Society* (1917). The secretary, Mr. A. M. Friedenberg, contributes twenty-seven letters, in English and German, 1850-1852, of a Jewish pioneer in California, Alexander Mayer, a native of the Rhenish Palatinate.

The *Forty-First Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1919-1924) contains the annual administrative reports of the chief, Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, for the years 1920-1924, and two "Accompanying Papers". Dr. Fewkes's reports are of value for their general survey of the investigations carried on by the bureau, their interpretation of results, their suggestion of researches that should be made. Among the investigations in progress, are those in Florida (particularly about St. Petersburg), in Tennessee, and at Santa Barbara, Cal., and the collecting and recording of native texts of Iroquoian peoples and of the Makah Indians of Washington. Among the desiderata suggested by Dr. Fewkes are ethnological studies of the early peoples of South and Central America, the plotting of the trails by which communication was carried on between Indian tribes, and the study of the foods used by the Indians. The two accompanying papers are: *Coiled Basketry in British Columbia and Surrounding Region*, by H. K. Haeberlin, J. A. Teit, and Helen H. Roberts, under the direction of Franz Boas; and *Two Prehistoric Villages in Middle Tennessee*, by William Edward Myer, who died in 1923. The two sites excavated and studied are in the Cumberland valley, south of Nashville. As to who the people were who occupied these sites, Mr. Myer reached only tentative conclusions. Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, who examined the skeletal material, states that it "brought to light a most puzzling set of apparent facts, and strongly emphasizes the great necessity for further explorations in this region".

Vol. XXVII. of the *Journal* of the American Irish Historical Society, for 1928, contains 29 papers, of which three-fourths are by the historiographer, Michael J. O'Brien, dealing mainly with early Irish settlers or noted Irishmen and their descendants. The index of persons mentioned filling 14 pages, three columns to a page, shows a pious desire to rescue from oblivion some obscure individuals who played a part in our early history. One of the most interesting papers is on Charles O'Connor, the well-known lawyer, by J. C. Walsh (New York, 1928).

Vol. XXI. (for 1927) of the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* contains a bibliography of New York City newspapers (1820-1850), by Louis H. Fox. For each title he gives the period of publication, the political complexion, and a reference to where copies can be found. He also furnishes an interesting introduction. The volume of 131 pages is published by the University of Chicago Press, 1928, in an edition of 425 copies.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Vol. I. of *A Social and Economic History of the United States*, by Professor H. J. Carman of Columbia University, is announced by Heath for publication this spring. This volume will cover the period from colonial times through the Civil War.

Père Marquette, a biography by Agnes Repplier, has been published by Doubleday, Doran (Garden City).

The Institut Français de Washington (see *Review*, XXIII. 742) has, as its second cahier of Historical Documents, published forty-seven letters written by Lafayette, from the original manuscripts in the Virginia State Library and the Library of Congress, under the title *Lafayette in Virginia* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1928, pp. xi, 64). For vol. XX. of this *Review* (pp. 341-376, 577-612) W. G. Leland edited 61 letters from Lafayette to Luzerne, 1780-1782, which he found in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris. The letters now published by the Institut Français do not throw as much light upon military affairs as did his letters to the French minister to the United States. But they do show Lafayette in a most favorable light and illustrate the characteristics which so endeared him to the American people. Professor Gilbert Chinard furnishes an excellent introduction. The Institut has in press a volume on *Houdon's American Work* (cahier III.) and one on *Admiral de Grasse and the Victory of Yorktown* (cahier IV.), and has in preparation volumes on the French Missionaries, Franco-Canadian Immigration, and the Louisiana Purchase.

The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790-1815, by O. W. Elsbree is published in Williamsport, Pa., by the Williamsport Printing and Binding Company.

The Essex Institute (Salem, Mass.) has published a history of the suppression of West Indian pirates, by G. W. Allen, under the title *Our Navy and the West Indian Pirates*.

The whole history of the "pocket veto" is treated in full detail in *Doc. no. 493*, 70 Cong., 2 sess., a pamphlet of 43 pages, by R. P. Reeder, of the Department of Justice.

A limited edition of *Andrew Jackson and the Bank of the United States*, by Stan. V. Henkels, has been privately printed (Philadelphia).

A revised edition of T. R. Hay's *Hood's Tennessee Campaign*, which received the Robert M. Johnston Military History Prize awarded by the American Historical Association, is published by Walter Neale (New York).

Macmillan announces a biography of *Andrew Johnson, the Champion of Lincoln's Cause*, by Lloyd P. Strykes, to be published in two volumes, in April.

The "America Letters", a revision of a paper read at Oslo by T. C. Blegen, has been published by the Norske Videnskaps-Akademi (1928). Very interestingly it shows the importance of such letters and suggests coöperation in Norway and this country in collecting as many as possible.

It was a labor of love for Joseph Gorayeb, S. J., to prepare *The Life and Letters of Walter Drum, S. J.* His life (1870-1921), was comparatively uneventful but the letters portray the man. The keynote to his attitude is given in the letter in which he recounts his interview with Pope Pius X., who admonished him, "Fight for the traditional teachings of the Church!" This he did as professor at Woodstock, as lecturer at the Brooklyn Institute, and in his writings (New York, America Press, 1928).

Middletown, a Study in Contemporary American Culture is the outcome of a survey made in 1924-1925, and directed by Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd. Middletown is the name used to designate a city of about 38,000 inhabitants in the Middle West; from the accurate data given some students will discover the actual place. Economic, social, religious, and political conditions are surveyed and contrasted with those in the 1890's. Some of the material was obtained by questionnaires, much from direct observation by members of the staff. The future historian will find this book very useful, but will question whether the drab account reflects all the conditions faithfully and how far, for example, it would be justifiable to generalize about the facts of the business class from a comparatively small number of instances. The authors realized the latter difficulty and offered the testimony only as significant indices. This pioneer study is excellent and the Institute of Social and Religious Research has performed a valuable service in making it possible (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1929).

The Ghetto, by Louis Wirth, originated in a sociological study of the ghetto in Chicago, but the author found it desirable to study the history of the origin of ghettos and of their influence. Unfortunately he was not well equipped for an historical study. Opinions will differ as to whether he has been more successful in depicting the natural history of the ghetto and the psychology of the Jews (Chicago University Press, 1928).

Ray Stannard Baker's second instalment of his *Biography of Woodrow Wilson* is published, like the first, in the New York *Herald Tribune*

before publication in book form. It brings the story down to the campaign of 1912. The instalment began in the number for Sunday, January 6.

"Les États-Unis et la Cour Permanente de Justice Internationale", by Dr. H. B. Learned, a paper read at Oslo, Aug. 15, 1928, was published in the *Revue de Droit International*, July-September, 1928. The Paris *Figaro* devotes a column to this paper in its number for Jan. 6, 1929.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

Professor S. E. Morison contributes to the January number of the *New England Quarterly* an article entitled Elbridge Gerry, Gentleman-Democrat, an enlivening account of Gerry's career, and a graphic portrait of the gentleman who was Democrat *malgré lui*. M. E. Curti's article, Non-Resistance in New England, is essentially the story of Rev. Henry Clarke Wright and his New England Non-Resistance Society (organized in 1838 as a betterment of the American Peace Society), the fundamental tenets of both societies being effectually smothered by the Civil War. O. W. Long contributes an article on William Dwight Whitney (1827-1894). Among the documents is a Child's Diary on a Whaling Voyage, edited, with an introduction by M. W. Jernegan. The diary records the experiences and observations of a young girl (only six years old when the voyage began) through a period of nearly two and a half years on board a New England whaler, which sailed from New Bedford in October, 1868, and rounded Cape Horn. The author of the diary is Laura Jernegan Spear.

The *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society for the years 1926, 1927, and 1928 contains, besides the proceedings proper, a number of historical papers. One of these is by Frederick Tupper of the University of Vermont on Royall Tyler [1757-1826], Man of Law and Man of Letters. Professor Tupper concerns himself chiefly with Tyler as a man of letters and quotes liberally from his writings. There are two papers on William Czar Bradley (1782-1867), one an address in 1927 by F. L. Fish of the Vermont supreme court, the other a paper read before the society in 1867 by Rev. Pliny H. White, and originally published in the *Green Mountain Freeman*; in addition there is an oration delivered by Bradley, July 4, 1799. Two articles concerning Lieut.-Col. Joseph Wait (1732-1776) are here reprinted, one being biographical data taken from the *Rutland Evening News* of Feb. 13, 1909, the other a paper by E. N. Bragg, published in the *Springfield Union* May 21, 1922. Another paper of a biographical sort is an address delivered by D. B. E. Kent Aug. 24, 1927, at the 125th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Davenport, inventor of the electric motor. A documentary publication of interest is the Journal of the Managers of the Scotch American Company of Farmers, a company which was organized in 1772 and shortly afterward planted a colony in what is now Caledonia County, Vt.

The Business Historical Society of Boston has recently acquired by gift some sixty packing cases of the records of Bigelow, Kennard, and Company, of Boston, one of the oldest jewelry firms in the country. Among these records have been found some letters written from New Mexico about 1854 by Major (afterward Major-General) James Henry Carleton, containing some interesting accounts of events and activities on that frontier. Some account of these letters is given in the February number of the society's *Bulletin*. In the same number is a description of some of the contents of the collection of materials pertaining to weights and measures gathered by Mr. S. S. Dale of Brookline, Mass.

The Boston Athenaeum, which acquired some four or five years ago a large collection of the papers of Commodore Isaac Hull, plans to publish a selection of these papers in a volume to be illustrated and to be edited by Dr. G. W. Allen.

Of G. G. Putnam's series of articles on Salem Vessels and their Voyages appearing in the *Historical Collections* of the Essex Institute, that in the January number relates chiefly to voyages to Europe, Africa, Australia, and the South Pacific islands. The papers of G. W. Allen on Our Navy and the West Indian Pirates, and those of F. B. C. Bradlee on Marblehead's Foreign Commerce, 1789-1850, are continued. The Institute has also published *Trades and Tradesmen of Essex County, Massachusetts*, by W. H. Belknap.

Volume XXII. of the *Collections* of the Connecticut Historical Society contains the "Records of the particular court of Connecticut, 1639-1663". The first ten years of these records were printed many years ago with the first records of the general court of Connecticut. This volume is now difficult to obtain and in printing the records of the particular court from 1650 to 1653, it seemed best to reprint the earliest portion, in order that all of the records of the particular court might be contained in one volume. These throw much light upon the early controversies and misdemeanors of those days. Among the actions brought before this court were several indictments and trials for the crime of witchcraft. The volume of 312 pages is indexed both for names and subjects (Hartford, 1929). The society has recently come into possession of the official letters and orders issued by Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, from March 8, 1861, to June 2, 1862. These are in three small folio volumes, containing about 500 pages, presumably in the handwriting of his secretary. They consist for the most part of orders to commanders of vessels of blockading and other squadrons, and of navy yards. With a few exceptions, it is believed that these orders are unpublished. The printing of this manuscript is contemplated by the society.

The Rhode Island Historical Society expects before long to publish a manuscript journal of the Rhode Island ratifying convention of 1791, edited by Robert C. Cotner.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association has an article by L. M. Sears on the Neapolitan Mission of Enos Thompson Throop, 1838-1842, being mainly an analysis of the despatches of Throop detailing his negotiations in behalf of the tobacco trade, the chief object of his mission, with comments upon the protracted controversy between the government of the Two Sicilies and Great Britain over the sulphur trade. In the same issue is an address by Peter Nelson on Learned's Expedition to the Relief of Fort Stanwix, delivered at the unveiling in September of a memorial to the memory of General Learned and his brigade at Van Schaick's Island, Cohoes. Another address, by O. Q. Flint, is concerned with Worcester Local History.

The New York Historical Society has received an interesting collection of letters written by Col. William Douglas, July, 1775, to Dec. 5, 1776, while he was with the Continental Army. The earliest ones are printed in the quarterly *Bulletin* for January, and others will follow in succeeding issues of the *Bulletin*.

In the February number of the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library R. W. G. Vail gives some account of the Frederic Remington collection of sketches and paintings, together with a biographical sketch of Remington. There is also an article setting forth the information obtained with regard to the disposition of the Irisarri books, in consequence of the inquiry put forward in the *Bulletin* of February, 1928. Of the list of references to material in the New York Public Library pertaining to modern Egypt, compiled by Ida A. Pratt, part VI., which appears in this issue, is of materials in economic history, industries, magic and superstition, religion, Arabic inscriptions, and Arabic papyri. The *Bulletin* also has a list of the publications of the library now in print. The library has recently acquired the Sherman and Fassett collections of Political Papers, the latter amounting to over 42,000 pieces, for the period from 1906 to 1912.

The January number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* contains an account of the laying of the corner-stone of the society's new building (Nov. 16, 1928), with the addresses of Mr. M. C. Taylor, the Rt. Rev. E. M. Stires, and others. Among the contributions in this issue, other than continuations, are: one by C. E. Banks on the Ancestry of Thomas Willett, First Mayor of New York; one by L. P. de Boer, furnishing the Passenger List of Colonists to the South River (Delaware) Colony of New Netherland, 1661; and an extended genealogical paper by H. S. F. Randolph on the Howser Family.

The Columbia University Press has published a history of the *Early German Theatre in New York, 1840-1872*, by F. A. H. Leuchs.

The October number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society includes an account, by Mrs. E. M. Field, of two famous man-

sions of Elizabeth, that of Gen. Winfield Scott and that of Elias Boudinot, sometime President of the Continental Congress; an article by W. W. Scott on the Founding of Passaic 250 Years Ago; a contribution of A. van D. Honeyman concerning New Jersey Indians, including a letter (1864) from an Indian woman, Marian Peters; an article, by J. C. Connolly, on the Whale Industry in New Jersey; another, by John Neafie, on Captain Peter Nafey and his Whaleboat Crew in the Revolution; and three poems on the battle of Monmouth. The January number contains the address of Professor T. J. Wertenbaker on the Battle of Princeton, wherein the full significance of the battle is pointed out; a circumstantial account, by J. F. Folsom, of the Burr-Hamilton Duel; and a paper by Mrs. Reuben Knox entitled New Jersey's Rich Historical Treasury, a presentation of numerous outstanding facts in the history of the state. The papers of the late Dr. J. C. Honeyman on Zion, St. Paul, and other early Lutheran churches in central New Jersey are continued.

Historic Roadsides in New Jersey, a condensed description of colonial and Revolutionary landmarks, has been published (1928) by the Society of Colonial Wars in that state, and can be obtained from the secretary, W. L. Glenney, 916 Madison Avenue, Plainfield, N. J. The historic sites in each county are listed; 39 illustrations, an historical map, a bibliography, and an index add to the value of this guide for students and motorists.

The January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains an article by G. D. Harmon of Lehigh University entitled President Buchanan's Betrayal of Governor Robert J. Walker of Kansas. Professor Harmon reviews the appointment of Walker, his course as governor of Kansas, the criticism of him on the part of Buchanan's Cabinet and other Southern statesmen, and argues that Buchanan's own course was ultimately changed, by threats from certain Southern states, from one of supporting Walker to that of repudiating him. In the same number is an illustrated article, by H. E. Gillingham, entitled Some Early Brickmakers of Philadelphia, and I. R. Pennypacker presents the fourth of his papers on Military Historians and History, discussing a number of recent works on phases of the Civil War. The magazine prints also two letters from Washington, one (July 20, 1775) to his brother, the other (May 4, 1782, with an addition May 8) to John Dickinson, president of Delaware, and a letter to Washington from Fielding Lewis (Nov. 14, 1775).

The *Bulletin* of the Friends' Historical Association, Autumn number, contains some materials concerning Anthony Benezet, Quaker schoolmaster of Philadelphia, particularly an account of Benezet and the Quakers as seen by a French Diplomat (Barbé-Marbois) and of a publishing project of Benezet. H. J. Cadbury contributes an article on Heathen Names for Days of the Week and Months.

The *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* reprints in the January number (from *Blackwoods Magazine*) the narrative of Thomas Ridout, "An Account of my Capture by the Shawnese Indians" (1788). The Letters of Tarleton Bates, 1795-1805, contributed and edited by Mrs. E. M. Davis, are the letters of a young Virginian resident in Pittsburgh, who was killed in January, 1806, in a duel with Thomas Stewart. An account of this duel, "The Last Duel in Pennsylvania", from the pen of the late T. L. Rogers, also finds place in this issue of the *Magazine*. There is also a brief article, by E. J. Long, on Conrad Weiser (died 1760), interpreter and "good will ambassador" among the Indians.

Announcement was made in the issue of this journal of October, 1927 (p. 235), that the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society had planned to publish the manuscript material in its possession relating to the early settlement of the Wyoming Valley under the auspices of the Susquehanna Company. At that time it was not contemplated that the material to be published would extend to more than two volumes. Since then, however, the society has accumulated, chiefly by way of photostat copies, a large amount of additional material relating to the subject, and has accordingly enlarged the scope of its projected publication to include the whole of this material, which, it is believed, will run to ten or twelve volumes. The editorship of the publication, at first undertaken by Dr. W. F. Dunaway, has now been entrusted to Mr. J. P. Boyd. It is expected that volume I. will be ready in the autumn. The society has published *Pioneer Days in the Wyoming Valley* by Mary H. Joyce.

The Wilmington Trust Company has published in handsome form, with illustrations of currency, etc., a brief treatise on *Colonial Finance in Delaware* (pp. 68), by Hon. Richard S. Rodney, associate judge of the supreme court of the state.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains, besides continued articles, a contribution by L. D. Scisco, People of Early Charles County, being an epitome of personal references in liber A of the Charles County court records.

The *Bulletin*, vol. XVII. no. 2 (December), of the Virginia State Library is a *Check-List of Virginia State Publications, 1927*. The list is confined to publications issued at state expense by agencies under state control and is the second issue of such an annual list.

Among the contents of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are: a record of Deaths of Virginians, from 1832 to 1844, taken from Howe's *Historical Collections of Virginia*; the New Kent Military Classes in 1782, giving the names of those included in the respective classes, from 1 to 24, with the "exempts"; two Confederate letters, one from E. D. Cottrell, a soldier, to his mother (1862), the other from John M. Gregory to John R. Armistead, dated at Charles City Court House,

June 19, 1862, and describing at some length conditions in the country. Gregory was acting governor of Virginia from March, 1842, to January, 1843, and judge of the sixth judicial circuit of Virginia, 1860-1866. There are also two letters of President John Tyler, both dated Dec. 19, 1859, and addressed to John Ward Dean, secretary of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, one accepting membership in the society, the other giving a tentative genealogy of the Tyler family.

Among the contents of the January number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* are some materials (including a letter written from York Town in 1846) pertaining to the operations at or near Hampton during the War of 1812, contributed by Mr. J. H. Guy of Richmond; a group of Civil War letters, chiefly from J. A. Cotton, a private in a Georgia regiment, and written from Winchester in 1861; articles of agreement of the Dismal Swamp Company in 1763; the will of Governor Richard Bennett (1674), contributed by W. E. McClenny; and numerous genealogical contributions.

The January number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* contains a Brief History of the Regulation and Taxation of Tobacco in England, by Alfred Rive, and a continuation of the letters of Moncure Robinson, these letters being of the period 1828-1833.

In an article in the January number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* C. W. Ramsdell describes what has been done for the preservation of Texas history through the acquisition of materials as well as the preservation of official records. The principal agencies through which this has been done are the Texas State Library, the University of Texas Library, and the various historical societies of the state. In the same number of the *Review* G. G. Johnson gives some interesting glimpses of Recreational and Cultural Activities in the Ante-Bellum Town of North Carolina; W. N. Franklin discourses upon Some Aspects of Representation in the American Colonies, pointing out the significant factors in the struggle for representation in the New England, Middle, and Southern colonies, respectively; and A. R. Newsome presents the second of his papers on Twelve North Carolina Counties in 1810-1811. Among the Historical Notes, edited by D. L. Corbitt, is an article on the Illegality of Courts of Oyer and Terminer, taken from the *Cape Fear Mercury* of Sept. 22, 1773.

Among the recent accessions of the North Carolina Historical Commission are: 13 letters of George E. Badger, 1857-1860; 46 volumes of Beaufort County records; 857 Edgecombe County Wills; 256 Robeson County Wills; 80 pages (copies) of North Carolina items in eighteenth-century New England newspapers; 11 additions to the Iredell manuscripts, 1779-1842; and *A Letter to a Member of the General Assembly of North Carolina on the Navigation of the Roanoke and its Branches*, by "A Citizen of Pittsylvania", Richmond, 1811, pp. 66.

The Memorabilia of Fifty Years, 1877-1927, is a collection of the records which Bishop Edward Rondthaler of Winston-Salem, N. C., has annually made of the events of the preceding twelvemonths, and has been published as a part of the celebration of his "Service Jubilee". Miss Adelaide L. Fries (224 South Cherry Street, Winston-Salem, N. C.), of whom the volume may be obtained, states that the *Memorabilia* properly belongs with the *Records of the Moravians of North Carolina*, which she has been editing for the North Carolina Historical Commission.

James B. Duke: Master Builder, by John Wilber Jenkins, emphasizes three phases of the late Mr. Duke's career: the expansion of the tobacco industry, the development of Southern and Canadian water-power, and the creation of Duke University (Duke University Press).

A History of Taxation in North Carolina during the Colonial Period, 1663-1776, by Coralie Parker, is published by the Columbia University Press.

The January number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* has a letter from Edmund White to Joseph Morton, dated at London, Feb. 29, 1687/88, relating in part to Lord Cardross and the destruction of the Scots colony of Stewarts-Town by the Spaniards, and more particularly to the slave trade. The correspondence of Henry Laurens in this issue, which extends from January, 1747, to January, 1748 (the letters of January, 1748, bear inadvertently the date 1747), pertains principally to Laurens's extensive business affairs. The principal item in the Garth correspondence is an elaborate memorial of chief justice Charles Shinner, May 2, 1767, defending himself against the charges recently brought against him. A documentary item is Tomb Stone Inscriptions from Holy Cross Church, Stateburg, S. C., contributed by Marie H. Heyward.

The December number of the *Birmingham-Southern College Bulletin* consists of four historical contributions, one from each of the members of the department of history in that college: The First Confederate Capital, by H. A. Trexler; The Blount Conspiracy, by W. B. Posey; The King's Casual Revenues in the Southern Colonies, by C. A. Karraker; and The Ecuador-Peru Boundary Dispute, by L. F. Sensabaugh.

The *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* reprints in the July number the *Faithful Picture of the Political Situation of New Orleans at the Close of the Last and Beginning of the Present Year, 1807*, a pamphlet first printed in New Orleans and reprinted in Boston in 1808. It is the text of the Boston reprint that is here reproduced, with ample and scholarly annotations by J. E. Winston of Newcomb College. The authorship of the pamphlet, according to Professor Winston, lies between Edward Livingston and Judge James Workman, the evidence pointing to the latter. A Visit to Lafitte, "an authentic narrative of stirring adventure", is a reprint from the *Knickerbocker Magazine* of March, 1847, and is contributed to the *Quarterly* by Rear-Admiral Elliot Snow, U. S. N. The

narrative pertains to the pursuit of pirates on the Gulf coast in the winter of 1819-1820 by the U. S. S. *Lynx*, under the command of Lieut. J. M. McIntosh, who is presumed to be the author. W. A. Read contributes an article entitled More Indian Place-Names in Louisiana. The series of Documents concerning Bienville's Lands in Louisiana, 1718-1737, is concluded.

In the October number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* S. G. Noble of Tulane University, in a paper on Governor Claiborne and the Public School System of the Territorial Government of Louisiana, maintains that Governor Claiborne's educational policy, which was based on the belief "that universal education, provided by the state, offered the only safeguard to democracy", anticipated the policy of the federal government in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. An article on the Spanish Land Laws of Louisiana is contributed by F. P. Burns of the New Orleans bar. From M. L. Bonham, jr., comes an article entitled "The Rebel Reefer Furls his Last Sail", being a sketch of the late James Morris Morgan, author of the *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer*, together with delightful excerpts from letters, written during the last 12 years of his life, to Professor Bonham. In the series of documents pertaining to the distribution of land in Louisiana by the Company of the Indies, 1717-1736, this issue of the *Quarterly* presents the Jonchère Concession, Oct. 26, 1719, translated by Heloise H. Cruzat, with an introduction by H. P. Dart. Another document is the will of Pedro Francisco Olivier Devezin (1776), translated with an introduction by Laura L. Porteous.

WESTERN STATES

In the March number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* A. P. Whitaker, in an article entitled New Light on the Treaty of San Lorenzo: an Essay in Historical Criticism, offers an explanation of the action of Spain in that matter which for the most part clears up the obscurity which has hitherto surrounded it. By means of documentary materials not hitherto used he shows that neither Great Britain nor France had any part in the Spanish surrender, that Godoy was, in all probability, not ignorant of the Jay Treaty with Great Britain, and that his yielding to the demands of the United States was primarily because of the critical situation of the Spanish government. R. C. Miller offers an evaluation of the historical work of James Ford Rhodes, giving to his article the secondary title: a Study in Historiography. A. H. Hirsch, in his article, Efforts of the Grange in the Middle West to Control the Price of Farm Machinery, 1870-1880, contributes a valuable chapter to the economic history of the period. He points out that this contest between the farmers and the manufacturers, wherein the manufacturer appears to have been the wiser of the two, laid the foundations for some of the most important business policies of the following decades. Other contents are a discourse by W. E. Barton, entitled A Noble Fragment: Beveridge's Life of Lincoln, and some notes on the Lord Gage collection

of manuscripts (temporarily housed in the Public Record Office, London), by C. E. Carter.

The Division of Social Sciences of Ohio University has undertaken the publication of the *Ohio Social Science Journal*, of which the first number was issued in February. There is one article of historical interest, part I. of the Reminiscences of A. B. Walker, who, born in Vermont in 1800, removed with his parents to Ohio in 1810. The reminiscences were written in 1876.

The Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio, organized in 1918 and reorganized in 1928, has begun the publication of a *Quarterly Bulletin*, of which the first number was issued in January and contains a list of the historical works in the society's collection.

The item of chief importance in the December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* is the concluding instalment of J. A. Coffin's paper on the Senatorial Career of Albert J. Beveridge. Other articles are: Andrew Hoover comes to Indiana, by Grace J. Clarke, and the Wabash and Erie Canal in Wabash County, by Mrs. Leola Hockett. The principal item of a documentary sort is the Civil War Diary of Sergeant James Louis Matthews.

The September number of the *Indiana History Bulletin* is a general index to the contents of volume V. of the *Bulletin*; the December number records briefly the action of the Indiana Historical Society and others with a view to obtaining an appropriation by the state for the erection of a new state library and historical building; and the January number contains a further statement respecting the projected celebration of the George Rogers Clark anniversary (Feb. 25, 1929) and some account of the activities of various historical societies.

The October number of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society has a paper of monographic extent, by A. P. Nasatir of State College, San Diego, Calif., on the Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution, 1779-1783. F. R. Hall of Purdue University is the author of a study of Genet's Western Intrigue, 1793-1794. The Laws in Force in Illinois prior to its Statehood is an address by W. W. Edwards, dean of the Lincoln College of Law, delivered at the college June 14, 1928. Fundamentalism and Modernism in a Pioneer College, by President C. H. Rammelkamp of Illinois College, is a chapter in the early history of that institution. Mrs. F. G. Bale contributes an article entitled Galena's Memories of General Ulysses S. Grant.

The January number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* has, besides continuations, an article on Colonial Maryland, by H. S. Spaulding, S. J., one on the First American Foreign Missioners, by Marian Habig, O. F. M., and an Introduction to American History, by L. J. Kenny, S. J.

The January number of the *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society contains an instalment of the Memoirs of Micah Taul (1785-1850), colonel in the War of 1812, member of Congress from Kentucky, 1815-1817, contributed by Mrs. J. R. Davis of Brewton, Ala. The memoirs were written in the beginning of 1848. In the same issue are the tax lists of Wayne County, Ky., 1801, signed by Taul, who was then clerk of the county court, and the vital statistics of the same county for 1852-1858. W. R. Jillson contributes Reminiscences of Lexington by Samuel D. McCullough; Alice E. Trabue contributes a collection of inscriptions from Kentucky tombstones, and Nina M. Visscher some notes, largely culled from Kentucky newspapers, pertaining to Revolutionary soldiers.

The *History Quarterly* of the Filson Club has as the principal article in the January number part I. of Minute Book A, Jefferson County, Ky., 1781-1783, contributed, with an introduction, by A. L. Prichard. Jefferson County was one of the three counties into which the county of Kentucky was by act of the Virginia assembly divided in May, 1780, and this minute book (which is not the original, but a certified copy made in 1816), embodying the court records, includes wills, deeds, inventories, records of polls, etc.

The Michigan Historical Commission has published a reprint of the *Geological Reports of Douglass Houghton, First State Geologist of Michigan, 1837-1845*, edited by George N. Fuller (Lansing, 1928, pp. 700).

Articles in the *Michigan History Magazine*, Winter number, are: Railroads of Michigan since 1850, by E. A. Calkins; the Story of Michigan's Marketing, by J. A. Russell; the second of W. A. Spill's papers on the University of Michigan: Beginnings; a biographical account of Moses Coit Tyler, by T. E. Casady; an account of the Early Years of Adrian College, by Rev. A. W. Kauffman; an initial paper on Lansing in the Good Old Seventies, by H. A. Haigh; and an article by W. A. Terpenning entitled Types no longer Typical, being a presentation of some early "types".

Dr. M. M. Quaife's series of Detroit Biographies in the Burton Historical Collection *Leaflet* includes Pierre Joseph Celoron (January number) and John Askwith (March).

In the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* Miss L. P. Kellogg discourses upon the Mission of Jonathan Carver, and Mrs. M. J. Monroe writes a Biographical Sketch of Edmund Jussen (died 1891), immigrant of 1847, prominent in law and politics in Columbus and Madison. The document in this issue is an instalment of the Journal of General William Rudolph Smith, one of the commissioners appointed in 1837 to treat with the Chippewa Indians at the head of the Mississippi, recording his journey from Pittsburgh down the Ohio and up the Mississippi.

The *Bulletin* of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. III., no. 3 (pp. 213-416), is a study of the *Neale and McClaughry Mound Groups*, by W. C. McKern. These two mound groups, which are located in Marquette County, Wis., were excavated and studied in great detail and the results are here set forth. There are numerous plates, diagrams, and other illustrations.

In the December number of the *Peninsula Historical Review*, published by the Door County, Wis., Historical Society, and conducted by H. R. Holland of Ephraim, Wis., Mr. Holland makes a detailed attempt to fix the location of the Indian village, which the first French explorers who visited it (in 1656) called St. Michael, which, the author states, "is not to be confused with Mission St. Michael, established among the Menominees by Allouez in 1670".

In the December number of *Minnesota History* I. H. Hart relates the story of Beengwa, Daughter of a Chippewa Warrior, Beengwa being the Indian name of Mrs. George Curtis, and the Chippewa warrior being Augenosh, who had a conspicuous part in the battle of 1842, within the present limits of St. Paul. Alice E. Smith gives a history of the attempt by John Sweetman, wealthy Irishman, to establish (1880-1882) a colony of his countrymen at Currie, Minn. The *Virginia*, the *Clermont* of the Upper Mississippi, by W. J. Petersen, is an account of the first successful navigation (1823) of the waters of the Upper Mississippi, as far as Fort Snelling. A Frontier College of the Middle West: Hamline University, 1854-1869, is a paper read by H. D. Asher at Winona in 1825. In the section entitled Minnesota as Seen by Travellers is a second letter of George T. Borrett (see the January *Review*, p. 444), descriptive of St. Paul.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has acquired a letter-book (1859-1861) of William Penn Clarke (1817-1903), active participant in affairs in the Civil War period (see this journal, vol. XXXII., p. 711). The letters, many of which are to statesmen of the period, including Lincoln, are of value for their glimpses of Iowa politics. The society, in coöperation with the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs, has designated the third week in April as "Iowa History Week", this being the fourth year of such an observance.

In the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* J. M. Pfiffner brings to a conclusion his studies of the City Manager Plan in Iowa. Such a careful study of the plan as carried out in various forms and degrees, though confined to the single state of Iowa, is an exceedingly useful text for the study of municipal problems elsewhere. In the same number of the *Journal* is the first instalment of a study by Dorothy Schaffter of the Bicameral System in Practice.

The January number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains a group of documents pertaining to the Survey of the Iowa-Minnesota Boundary Line (1852), together with an account of the survey written in 1927 by David

B. Sears, who as a boy accompanied the surveying party; an article by Dr. Charles Keyes on the Scientific Achievements of Frank Springer (1848-1927); and an historical account by C. C. Stiles of the Bonds of the State of Iowa.

The December number of the *Palimpsest* has a sketch of the town of Lowell, by O. A. Garretson, and an article on Literary Place Names, by A. W. Read. In the January number is an illustrated article on Fashions in the Fifties, by Ramona Evans, while the February number is occupied with accounts, by B. E. Mahan and Pauline Graham, of Play-Party Games, School-Day Games, etc.

The February number of the *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin* is wholly occupied with Documents relating to Peter Cassel and the Settlement at New Sweden, Ia., translated and edited, with an introduction, by Professor George M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota. The colony of New Sweden, founded by Cassel in 1845, was the first permanent Swedish settlement, and other settlements followed, directly or indirectly, through Cassel's influence. The documents (reprints), which are given in the original as well as in translation, are (to use the English titles): Extract from a Letter from a Traveler (1845), A Description of the United States of North America (1846), and a Letter from America (by Peter Cassel), 1848.

The Missouri Historical Society reports as among its recent accessions: the William Greenleaf Eliot Collection (1849-1882), chiefly pertaining to the period of the Civil War and including a group of papers of the Sanitary Commission and letters of Frémont, Hitchcock, Halleck, Schofield, Sherman, Hancock, and others; the Martha Jones Collection (1800-1815), chiefly pertaining to the lead mines at St. Genevieve; the George G. Pride Collection (1858-1902), much of it relating to the Civil War, with letters from Charles A. Dana, George B. Boomer, Generals Grant, McPherson, Rawlins, and others; General Daniel Bissell papers (1802-1821), being photostatic copies of correspondence between the War Department and General Bissell; and photostatic copies of Lincoln manuscripts in the possession of Mr. W. K. Bixby.

In the February number of *Collections* E. C. Taylor of Washington University discusses Mark Twain's Place in American Literature, Stella M. Drumm writes concerning the work of Robert E. Lee as a young engineer in the improvement of the Mississippi River at St. Louis, quoting extensively from Lee's reports, and F. A. McNeil gives a history of Fort Jefferson: the Extreme Western Post of the American Revolution. A list of soldiers of the War of 1812 buried in Missouri is contributed by Iona B. Wilson.

The *Missouri Historical Review* has in the January number the first part of an article by W. G. Bek on George Engelmann, Man of Science; one by B. M. Little on the National Old Trails Road at Lexington; one

by W. E. Smith on the Blairs and Frémont; one by R. V. Magers on an Early Missouri Political Feud; and one by P. S. Rader on the Great Seal of the State of Missouri. George Engelmann (1809-1884) was born in Frankfurt-am-Main, came to America in 1832, and became a distinguished botanist. Mr. Little's article is chiefly concerned with early Lexington and the monuments and markers of the National Old Trails Road. Mr. Smith's paper is part of a two-volume work, shortly to appear, dealing with the Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics. The political feud concerning which Mr. Magers writes is that between Thomas H. Benton and David Barton. Mr. Rader's history and description of the great seal of Missouri leaves little to be desired; nevertheless it is permissible to point out one incidental error. Referring to the motto "United we stand, divided we fall" (adopted by both Kentucky and Missouri) as having been taken from the poem of George P. Morris, "The Flag of our Union", but as having had an earlier form, "By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall", in a poem of John Dickinson, published July 4, 1776, Mr. Rader remarks: "So that phrase was really born on the day the Declaration of Independence was signed." As a matter of fact the Declaration of Independence was not signed by members of Congress until Aug. 2, 1776, a fact pointed out by Thomas McKean, one of the signers, as long ago as 1796, and otherwise established by abundant evidence.

The St. Louis Catholic Historical Society has brought out a *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* from 1673 to 1928, by the Rev. J. E. Rothensteiner.

The October number of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* contains an article on Robert Dickson, British Fur Trader on the Upper Mississippi, by L. A. Tohill, one on Magical and Sleight of Hand Performances by the Arikara, by G. F. Will, and some letters from two brothers, Henry and Heman Kellogg, members of the 105th Illinois Volunteers, written from Gallatin, Tenn., in February and March, 1863. J. D. Squires furnishes a brief biographical sketch of the Kelloggs. The January number contains, besides a continuation of Mr. Tohill's article, a group of Civil War letters written by Ira Butterfield, a corporal in a Wisconsin regiment.

In the January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* David Donoghue discusses the Route of the Coronado Expedition in Texas. The author declares himself "convinced by their own statements that the explorers never left the flat Llano Estacado, that they never traversed the rolling plains of Oklahoma, Kansas, or Nebraska", and sets himself the task of correlating the various accounts of this eastern portion of Coronado's journey and of showing "that the routes proposed by previous historians are clearly impossible". Harriet Smither offers a study of English Abolitionism and the Annexation of Texas, using mainly the correspondence of Ashbel Smith, Texan chargé to England and

France from 1842 to 1845, and W. C. Holden discourses in an interesting manner upon Frontier Journalism in West Texas. Edith L. Kelly and Mattie A. Hatcher present the third instalment of the papers of Tadeo Ortiz de Ayala, pertaining to the Colonization of Texas, 1822-1833.

In the December number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* is an interesting account, by Carolyn T. Foreman, of the Choctaw Academy, established in 1825 by Col. R. M. Johnson at Blue Springs, Ky., removed to White Sulphur Springs near by in 1831, and conducted there until 1841. The article contains numerous extracts from correspondence, wherein (alas!) the long *s* is presented as an *f*. This journal begs, with all deference, to suggest that good usage does not require the reproduction of the long *s* in texts of the present day, and much less does it sanction the substitution of an *f* therefor. Another article of especial interest is Pioneer School Teaching at the Comanche-Kiowa Agency School, 1870-1873, being the reminiscences of the first teacher, Josiah Butler. The list of Early Post-Offices of Oklahoma, contributed by Grant Foreman, is continued.

Bulletin 84 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is a *Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language* (pp. 255), by J. P. Harrington. The author describes the work as "a reconnaissance report", based on field work done in 1918 in Anadarko, Oklahoma, the present home of this small tribe, whose original habitat was in western Montana.

The *Colorado Magazine* of January is occupied with a single article, by P. S. Martin, which gives an account of the 1928 Archaeological Expedition of the State Historical Society of Colorado and its results. Among the articles in the March number are: the Founding and Early Years of Grand Junction, by J. H. Rankin; Early Central City Theatricals and other Reminiscences, written by T. F. Dawson from an interview with Hal Sayre; Thomas Fitzpatrick and the First Indian Agency in Colorado, by L. R. Hafen; and Western Experiences and Colorado Mining Camps, an interview with Wolfe Londoner in 1884 for H. H. Bancroft.

In the January number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* J. P. Clum gives a reminiscent account of the Apache Indian Es-kim-in-zin, France Sholes discourses upon the Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century (to be continued), F. W. Hodge writes concerning French Intrusion toward New Mexico in 1685, and a letter of Thomas A. Dolan, in charge of the Indian agency at Cimarron, New Mexico, to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec. 21, 1873, gives an account of the proceedings in a council with the Jicarilla Apache Indians, establishing the Jicarilla reservation. The letter is accompanied by the text of the agreement with the Indians. The *Review* reprints, from the *Magazine of Western History*, A. F. Bandler's paper on the Discovery of New Mexico by Fray Marcos of Nizza, and, from the January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*,

David Donoghue's article on the Route of the Coronado Expedition in Texas.

The January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* includes a paper by J. N. Cobb on the History of Fisheries in the State of Washington; one by H. H. Gowen entitled an American Pioneer in Japan (Edward M. Sheldon); an account, by A. P. Taylor, of How Hawaii Honored Captain Cook, R. N., in 1928; some remarks of T. C. Elliott on Sir George Simpson's Place in the History of the "Old Oregon" Country; extracts, contributed by J. N. Barry, from Dr. Charles Pickering's *Races of Mankind and their Geographical Distribution*, giving an account of his journey to Fort Colville in 1841; and the concluding instalment of J. W. Watt's Experiences of a Packer in Washington Territory Mining Camps during the Sixties.

The December number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* contains an article on Superstitions and Ceremonies of Indians of Old Oregon, by John Gill; some autobiographical sketches of William Henry Rector, pioneer and influential in the establishment of the woollen industry in Oregon, with an introduction by Fred Lockley; the Journal of Captain Charles Bishop of the *Ruby* in 1795, with introduction and notes by T. C. Elliott; the third instalment of the Log of the *Lausanne*; and an article by F. G. Young in behalf of an Oregon Pioneers Centennial Memorial, "A Project of Surveying and Planning", reprinted from the *Commonwealth Review*.

The *History of the Pioneer Sheep Husbandry in Oregon*, by A. L. Lomax, professor of business administration in the University of Oregon, has been reprinted from the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXIX., no. 2. The author's aim in this pamphlet is to present authoritatively the historical and economic data of sheep husbandry in Oregon in the period prior to the beginning of statehood. While sheep were not taken along with the first wagon trains, they presently became a regular accompaniment of the immigrant expeditions, partly for the establishment of flocks in the new country, partly for food on the journey in the event of emergency. The Hudson's Bay Company had a notable part in the establishment of the industry in western Oregon, as did also the settlers themselves in the Willamette Valley, and in 1848 a flock was driven from Missouri to Oregon by Joseph Watt. Within a few years sheep raising became firmly established in the Willamette Valley.

In the *California History Nugget* of October is an account of the voyage in 1542, under the command of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, of the *San Salvador* and *La Victoria*, Pioneers in the North Pacific.

The *Annual* of the Historical Society of Southern California for 1926 (vol. XIII., pt. 3) is devoted to Jedediah Strong Smith. There is a brief sketch of his life by J. C. Parish, a remarkable bibliography, and two letters written by Smith. In the *Annual* for 1927 (vol. XIII., pt. 4), is a brief but interesting diary (1852-1856), of Marcellus Bixby who

went from Maine around the Horn to California in 1852, edited by W. Westergaard. There are also entertaining rambling "remarks" by Major Burnham, a scout famous both in our West and in Africa, as well as other articles of local interest.

The *Report* of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii, 1927-1928, contains two letters from William Miller, British consul general for the Sandwich Islands, to the Foreign Office, dated Feb. 27 and May 20, 1844, giving his view of conditions in Hawaii; and a series of despatches, eighteen in number, from January, 1873, to April, 1874, from Henry A. Pierce, minister resident of the United States in Hawaii, to the Secretary of State. These despatches, it is explained, supplement those of Pierce printed in *Foreign Relations*, 1873, and 52 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, no. 77. The commission has in preparation a general history of Hawaii.

CANADA

Professor G. M. Wrong's work, *The Rise and Fall of New France*, in two volumes, has come from the press (Macmillan) and will be reviewed in an early number of this journal.

Interest in Canadian history is steadily increasing in this country, but as yet it does not receive the attention which it deserves nor does it receive as much attention as the Canadian scholars evince in the history of this country. It will be of interest to many to read the article in *Queen's Quarterly*, vol. XXXVI., no. 1 (January), by Professor R. G. Trotter on Canadian Interest in the History of the United States.

AMERICA SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The *Hispanic American Historical Review* for February contains the following articles: Antecedents of the Spanish Monopolistic Overseas Trading Companies, 1624-1728, by R. D. Hussey; the South American Commission, 1817-1818, by W. Stewart; the French Revolution and Mexico by J. Rydjord. In the "Notes and Comment" Carlos Concha gives an account of the oldest university in South America, Lima, founded in 1551.

Jamaica in 1928: a Handbook of Information, by Frank Cundall, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., secretary and librarian of the Institute of Jamaica (published for the Institute by the West India Committee, London; tenth year of issue, pp. 224), being designed for the information of visitors and intending residents, is largely devoted to expositions of the arts and crafts, sports and pastimes, professional and social life, education, manufactures, trade, and commerce, agriculture, natural history, etc., of the island, but there are also chapters of an historical character, namely, colonization of the Caribbean, Jamaica as a Spanish Colony, Jamaica as a British Colony, "A People in the Making", being an account of the various races in the West Indies, with characterizations of the people of Jamaica in particular.

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Naboth's Vineyard, by Sumner Welles, is a history of the Dominican Republic, 1844-1924 (New York, Payson and Clarke).

The Academia de la Historia de Cuba has published (Havana, 1928) *Pi y Margall y la Revolución Cubana*, by Juan M. Dihigo y Mestre.

Professor W. S. Robertson of the University of Illinois, who is preparing a life of Miranda, would be grateful to anyone who would inform him of the location of Richard Rush's manuscript entitled "Notes of a Conversation with General Miranda".

The Venezuelan government has decided to publish a complete edition of the letters of Simon Bolívar. By executive decree Dr. Vicente Lecuna, of Caracas, has been entrusted with the task of editing the collection.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Franz Boas, *Migrations of Asiatic Races and Cultures to North America* (Scientific Monthly, February); W. C. Macleod, *Origin of Servile Labor Groups* [Northwest Coast] (American Anthropologist, January); F. W. Blackmar, *The Socialization of the American Indian* (American Journal of Sociology, January); Lieut. H. E. Dow, U. S. N., Retired, *The United States and Seapower* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, February); Barbé-Marbois, *Chez les Peaux-Rouges Onéidas*, II.-concl. (Nouvelle Revue, November 15-December 15); J. M. Lenhart, *An Important Chapter in American Church History, 1625-1660* (Catholic Historical Review, January); R. S. Rait, *Nursing-Fathers of the United States* [James I., Charles II., and George III.] (University of California Chronicle, October); A. D. Belden, *George Whitefield: his Influence on his Times* (Biblical Review, January); Herbert Thoms, M. D., *Albigence Waldo, Surgeon: his Diary Written at Valley Forge* (Annals of Medical History, December); Rear-Admiral Joseph Foster, *The Continental Frigate Raleigh* (Granite Monthly, November); E. S. Corwin, *The "Higher Law" Background of American Constitutional Law* (Harvard Law Review, December, January); R. P. Taylor, *Bards in Ermine: John Marshall* (American Law Review, November); Emily S. Whiteley, *Between the Acts at Ghent* (Virginia Quarterly Review, January); C. W. Hackett, *The Development of John Quincy Adams's Policy with respect to an American Confederation and the Panama Congress, 1822-1825* (Hispanic American Historical Review, November); Lieut.-Commander L. C. Dunn, U. S. N., *The United States Navy and 104 Years of the Monroe Doctrine* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, December); H. C. Nixon, *Precursors of Turner in the Interpretation of the American Frontier* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); Mrs. C. W. McMahon, *Gen. Leonidas Polk, C. S. A.* (Confederate Veteran, February); Mrs. L. C. Wardlaw, *Plantation Life before the War* (*ibid.*, December); Mrs. J. P. Wickham, *Wade Hampton, the Cavalry Leader, and his Times* (*ibid.*); Mrs. J. P. Wickham, *Commanders of the Confederate Navy: Charles Read of Mississippi* (*ibid.*, February); Lieut.-Col. L. C. Duncan, U. S. A., Retired, *The Strange Case of Surgeon Gen-*

eral Hammond (Military Surgeon, January, February); the late Rear-Admiral O. W. Farenholt, U. S. N., Retired, *Some Autobiographical Notes* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, December); John Scales, *Shipbuilding in Dover* [New Hampshire] (Granite Monthly, November); E. J. Bowman, *Efforts to Christianize the Indians of Pennsylvania in Colonial Times* (Lutheran Church Quarterly, January); W. S. Middleton, *The Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1793 in Philadelphia* (Annals of Medical History, December); J. B. Brebner, *Paul Mascarene of Annapolis Royal* (Dalhousie Review, January); Anon., *Colonial Coast Forts on the South Atlantic: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida* (Coast Artillery Journal, January); H. A. Trexler, *Jefferson Davis and the Confederate Patronage* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); J. S. Wilson, *Breaking the Solid South* (Virginia Quarterly Review, January); W. Frances Scarborough, *Old Spanish Missions in Texas, V.: San Juan Capistrano* (Southwest Review, January); Stanley Vestal, *The Indians of Oklahoma* (*ibid.*); M. Ramona, *The Ecclesiastical Status of New Mexico, 1680-1875* (Catholic Historical Review, January); R. K. Wyllys, *On the Trail of the California Filibusters in the Mexican Archives* (*ibid.*, January); Gaillard de Champris, *Saint Vincent de Paul et ses Trois Derniers Historiens* [Lavedan, Redier, and Renaudin] (Le Canada Français, January); Herbert Heaton, *The Playing Card Currency of French Canada* (American Economic Review, December); Albert Depréaux, *Norvins, l'Historien de Napoléon, Secrétaire Général de la Préfecture de Saint-Domingue* (*ibid.*); P. V. Shaw, *José Bonifacio and Brazilian History* (Hispanic American Historical Review, November); Helen Douglas-Irvine, *The Landholding System of Colonial Chile* (*ibid.*).

NOTEWORTHY REVIEWS

The Cambridge Ancient History, V., VI., by D. C. Macgregor (English Historical Review, January); R. B. Burke, *Opus Majus of Roger Bacon*, by Lynn Thorndike (Speculum, October); R. W. Carlyle and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, IV., V., by Paul Fournier (Revue Historique, November); L. J. Paetow, *Two Medieval Satires on the University of Paris*, by Mario Casella (Archivio Historico Italiano, November); and by R. Boussuat (Moyen Age, May); F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, by J. F. Laun (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVII. 3); J. W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, by Z. N. Brooke (English Historical Review, January); T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, III., IV., by C. G. Crump (*ibid.*); Hilaire Belloc, *James the Second*, by Wallace Notestein (Saturday Review, January 12, 1929); Sir J. Fortescue (ed.), *The Correspondence of George III.*, by S. E. Morison (New England Quarterly, January); Allen French, *The Taking of Ticonderoga*, by John Pell (*ibid.*).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

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Published by the New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, N. H., 1928, octavo, cloth, pp. 442, with 5 plates, \$7.00, post paid.

This constitutes vol. 12 of the Collections of the Society.

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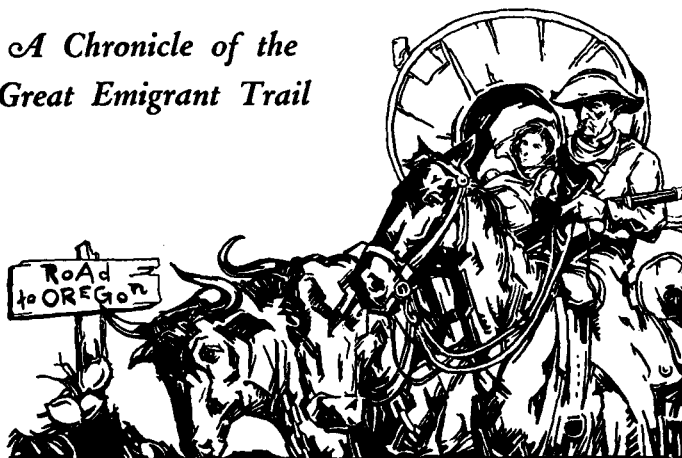
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